M. A. AZIZ

JAPAN'S COLONIALISM AND INDONESIA

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JAPAN'S COLONIALISM AND INDONESIA

by

M. A. AZIZ

M. A. (Hist., Dacca), M. A. (Int. Relations, Dacca), Ph. D. (Leyden)

MARTINUS NIJHOFF / THE HAGUE / 1955

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Whoso writes the history of his own time
must expect to be attacked for everything he has said,
and for everything he has not said;
but those little drawbacks should not discourage a man
who loves truth and liberty,
expects nothing, fears nothing, asks nothing,
and limits his ambition
to the cultivation of letters.

VOLTAIRE

PREFACE

The rise and fall of the Japanese empire constitutes one of the most dramatic episodes of modern history. Within the short span of fifty years Japan grew out of political backwardness into a position of tremendous power. Japan's rise to power challenged Europe's hegemony over Asia, but, paradoxically, it was Japan's fall that caused the irreparable ruin of the colonial system over Eastern lands.

Japan went to war against the West under the battlecry of Asia's liberation from European colonialism. In reality, for forty years, beginning with her first war against China, she had striven to imitate this colonialism, as she had endeavoured to imitate the political, military and economic achievements of Europe.

A thorough understanding of the imitative character of the Japanese Empire might well have induced the leaders of the nation to side with the conservative trend of political thought in the Western world in order to maintain the existing world-wide political system of which colonial rule was an accepted part. They might have understood that an adventurous, revolutionary policy was bound to result in grave dangers for their own state and most conservative structure. Japan might have continued to grow and to expand if she had succeeded to play the role of the legitimate heir to Europe's decaying power in Asia. By violently opposing that power, she undermined the very foundations of her own rule outside the home-islands. The megalomania of many of the Japanese leaders prevented them from seeing the inner contradiction between their political aims and the methods used to achieve these aims. They dreamt of and planned the conquest of the modern world from an obsolete point of view. The backwardness of their political thinking fitted ill with the ultra-modern means of political action at their disposal and the discrepancy became the cause of their destruction.

In destroying European colonial power in Asia the superficially modernised Japanese Empire destroyed itself. The fall of Japan marked the beginning of a new period in the history of the whole of Eastern Asia.

Many aspects of this dramatic episode in Asia's history have been studied and described. Much more remains to be done, especially on the period of 1941 to 1945 when temporarily Japan ruled over most of East-Asia.

The archival material for this period is largely lost in the turmoil of revolutions that everywhere followed upon the occupation or, if still existant, is not yet available. On such material as is available Mr M. A. Aziz, who is Lecturer on International Relations at Dacca University, East-Pakistan, undertook the difficult task to describe how the Japanese plans and policies towards Indonesia grew out of the general Japanese colonial concept and how these policies were put into practice.

With painstaking care he collected and compared the documentary material and wove them into a full and detailed narrative of the events. The Netherlands Institute of International Affairs feels happy to present the result of his work to the reader as the first volume in a series of publications published under its direction.

B. H. M. Vlekke

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Dr B. H. M. Vlekke, Director of the Netherlands Institute of International Affairs and my teacher at the Institute of Social Studies, who first inspired me to undertake this research project. Throughout its prosecution, I have received his continuous help, guidance and encouragement. His paternal care and advice enabled me many a time to overcome temporary periods of distress. I am particularly aware that without the interest taken by him, the task I had undertaken would have remained unfulfilled. I should therefore like to dedicate this book to him.

I am also deeply indebted to Prof. Dr T. H. Milo of Leiden University who was kind enough to read my manuscript and make valuable suggestions.

My sincere thanks are due to Mr G. van Veelo, English Master at the Maerlant-Lyceum, The Hague, who patiently tutored me in the Dutch language. I also have to thank Mrs O. Nooy van der Kolff-Tellegen who spent countless hours in helping me with the translations of the Dutch texts.

Mr H. Friedhoff has put me under a great obligation by extending his generous help in all matters connected with the publication of this work.

I am glad to take this opportunity to express my thanks in particular to the authorities of the Netherlands Institute of International Affairs, the Institute of Social Studies, the National Institute of War Documentation at Amsterdam, the Peace Palace Library and the Royal Library for their unfailing courtesy and readiness to help in providing facilities and assistance.

I wish to record my deep appreciation to the Netherlands Universities' Foundation for International Cooperation for awarding the fellowship which enabled me to undertake and complete this study, also to the Netherlands Institute of International Affairs for supporting its publication.

The authorities of Dacca University (East Pakistan) graciously granted me leave of absence to pursue my studies in the Netherlands, for which I am grateful.

I have to thank my friends at the Institute of Social Studies from whom I learnt a great deal and who helped me in many ways, especially Miss Khurshid Hasan (Karachi) and Mr William Howard (U.S.A.).

For the opinions expressed, I alone am responsible.

Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, February 1955

M. A. Aziz

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CHAPTER I

JAPAN STARTS CONQUERING DEPENDENCIES

During many centuries of her existence, as a nation and as a state, Japan manifested a great interest in subjugating her adjacent territories. With the Meiji Restoration in 1868 there commenced a new chapter in the history of Japan. In a few crowded years she was transformed from a weak medieval empire into a modern powerful state. The rapid industrialisation by means of state subsidies, the improvement in agriculture, the abolition of feudalism, and the adoption of a parliamentary but autocratic constitution on the Prussian model brought about an unprecedented revolution in the economic, social and political structure of the country. The military machine – an army after the German style and a navy after the British – was quickly perfected. Once the foundations of the state had been successfully laid on the Western technical prerequisites of power, Japan proceeded to embark on a policy of expansion. The constant pressure of international power politics after the middle of the nineteenth century also compelled her "to expand in search of the foreign markets so desperately needed to realise the profits which could not be obtained from the narrow market, and in search of cheap essential raw materials which were denied her through the accident of geography." [1]

The desire to plunge into conquest was not new to the Japanese, who, being the Chosen People, always believed in the divine mission of Japan to conquer and rule other countries. Twenty-six hundred years ago Jimmu Tenno, first Emperor of Japan, is said to have given the divine command *Hakko Ichiu,* to bring "the eight corners of the world under one Japanese roof". After the Imperial Restoration his phrase was revived. Besides, "all

[1] E. H. Norman, *Japan's Emergence as a Modern State* (Institute of Pacific Relations, New York 1946), p. 197.

through the eighteenth century the supporters of movements for a restoration of the Imperial Power had consistently coupled with this programme for a political revolution at home the idea of aggression and expansion, and this was the policy recommended by such teachers as Yoshida Shoin, who educated the Samurai leaders of the clans that restored the Imperial Power in 1868." [1] The thoughts of new Japan turned once more to the empire which Hideyoshi, often called the Napoleon of Japan, had set out to conquer at the end of the sixteenth century. Hideyoshi dreamt of subjugating China. In his reply to the letter from the King of Korea, he said: "Since we cannot live in this world for even one hundred years, how can we continue to confine ourselves in this island? It has long been my ambition to conquer the Ming Dynasty (China) by way of your country. Our Emperor has expressed gratification at your readiness to establish relations with us by sending a delegate to our nation. I hope you will dispatch troops to help us when we mobilize our forces against the Ming Dynasty." [2]

Hideyoshi's plans actually extended far beyond the conquest of China. His aim was to create a great Asiatic Empire with China, Japan and Korea as the first unit and extending to other Asiatic territories then known to the Japanese, such as India, Persia, the islands of Liu Chiu, Formosa, the Philippines, and the regions in the South Sea. [3]

It is indeed amazing and significant that the new leaders regarded the "unequal treaties", which Japan was forced to conclude with foreign powers during the period 1853–1867, as a means of promoting the country's great imperial ambitions. Premier Baron Hotta, who submitted the text of the Townsend Harris Treaty to the Emperor for his approval, defined the idea. He pointed out that "among the rulers of the world at present, there is none so noble and illustrious as to command universal vassalage, or who can make his virtuous influence felt throughout the length and breadth of the whole world ...." and that,

[1] Survey of International Affairs, 1939–1946: *The World in March 1939*, ed. by A. J. Toynbee and F. T. Ashton-Gwatkin (Oxford Univ. Press, London 1952), p. 118.

[2] Quoted in John W. Wheeler-Bennett, *Documents on International Affairs, 1932* (Oxford Univ. Press, London 1933), p. 358.

[3] See Yoshi S. Kuno, *Japanese Expansion on the Asiatic Continent*, Vol. I (Univ. of California Press, Berkeley 1937), p. 143.

consequently, "in establishing relations with foreign countries' the object should always be kept in view of laying a foundation for securing the hegemony over all nations." Suitable alliances should be "directed toward protecting harmless but powerless nations." "Our national prestige and position thus secured", continued Hotta, "the nations of the world will come to look up to our Emperor as the Great Ruler of all nations, and they will come to follow our policy and submit themselves to our judgement." [1] The combination of emperor worship, the revival of Shintoism as a national state religion and the spirit of Bushido "made fertile ground in which to plant the seeds of an ideology of expansion, such as modern Japan has witnessed." [2]

Hardly had she set her feet on the path of modernisation when Japan began her career of imperialist adventures. In 1875, only seven years after the Meiji Restoration, the Kuriles were annexed. Two years later the Bonin Islands were acquired. In 1879 het Ryukyu (Liu Chiu) Islands were incorporated into Japan as a prefecture under the name of Okinawa. The Volcano Islands adjoining the Bonin Islands were annexed in 1891. Japan next looked for expansion in the only direction taught by history and geography, namely the Asiatic mainland where the Western Powers had already begun to divide China, the Sick Man of the Far East, into spheres of influence for themselves. Her eyes naturally fell on China's tributary, Korea, for the Korean peninsula was "regarded as a dagger pointed at Japan's heart, a source of constant irritation and menace to Japan's security." [3] In order to forestall the ambitions of other powers, particularly those of Russia, in this Land of Morning Calm, Japan made a successful war on China in 1894–1895. The war of 1894–1895 marked a definite turning point in Japan's policy along the path of expansion. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki (April 17, 1895) she acquired the rich island of Formosa, the Pescadores, and an indemnity of 300 million taels [4]. China had to recognise the

[1] Quoted in *Japan's Dream of World Empire. The Tanaka Memorial*, ed. by Carl Crow (Harper & Brothers, New York 1942), pp. 12–14. Japanese texts are usually difficult to translate, as some words have a double meaning. Some authors suggest 'Great Arbiter' instead of 'Great Ruler'.

[2] Kurt London, *Backgrounds of Conflict* (The Macmillan Company, New York 1947), p. 212.

[3] R. Hidemichi Akagi, *Japan's Foreign Relations 1542–1936* (The Hokuseido Press, Tokyo 1936), p. 113.

[4] Chinese currency.

independence of Korea, which practically gave Japan a free hand in the peninsula.

All these tangible results together with diplomatic prestige which she had gained whetted Japan's appetite for further conquests. The abolition of the extraterritorial system in 1899 gave her for the first time the full recognition as a power on equal terms with other Western nations. Her participation in the suppression of the famous Boxer Uprising in China in 1900 symbolised her entry into the ranks of the imperialist powers. With her international position further fortified by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, she next proceeded to challenge her great rival, Imperial Russia. The brilliant victory of the Land of the Rising Sun over the Muscovite giant in the war of 1904–1905 enabled Japan to achieve the status of a World Power. Her gains were indeed significant. By the Treaty of Portsmouth (September 5, 1905) she acquired Southern Sakhalin as well as Russia's leaseholds to Port Arthur and the Liaotung Peninsula, which she had to return to China in the face of the "démarche of the East Asiatic Dreibund (Russia, France and Germany)" [1] after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895. Russian railway and coal mining rights in South Manchuria and important fishing rights in certain territorial waters of Siberia on the Pacific were also ceded to Japan. Russia further acknowledged that Japan possessed in Korea paramount political, military, and economic interests, and undertook not to obstruct such measures as Japan might deem it necessary to take there. The defeat of Russia thus removed the last obstacle to Japanese domination over the peninsula. Korea finally became a colony of the Japanese Empire after her formal annexation in 1910. Before the conquest of Manchuria in 1931 she remained by far the largest possession of Japan with an area of 85,613 sq. miles and a population of 13 million at that time. Thus ended the first phase in the imperialist expansion of Japan.

[1] E. H. Norman, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

CHAPTER II

POLICY IN FORMOSA AND KOREA

A study of the salient features of Japanese colonial policy both in Formosa and Korea is of more than historical interest, for it sets the perspective to the period of Japanese occupation in Indonesia.

FORMOSA

For nearly half a century Formosa had been under the rule of Imperial Japan. Conscious of their new status as a colonial power, acquired as a result of the country's first successful war in modern times, the Japanese were eager to make their venture a success, not only to serve the sole interests of Japan but also "to satisfy their pride of possession and to gain repute among the powers." [1] During the Japanese rule, this "beautiful" island (the name Formosa is derived from the Portuguese word meaning beautiful) "was a laboratory for the makers of colonial policy in Tokyo." [2] Every effort was made to assimilate the island politically, economically and culturally.

The administration of Formosa was under the direction of the Central Government in Tokyo operating, first through the Overseas Ministry and then through the Home Ministry. It was highly centralised and autocratic, closely imitating that of Japan. "The Government-General was a military régime, although civilian titles were usually the rule." [3] The Governor-General, who wielded wide and, to a great extent, autonomous powers, was assisted in the supervision of the administration of the

[1] Joseph W. Ballantine, *Formosa* (The Brookings Institution, Washington 1952), p. 25.

[2] "Formosa in Transition", *The World Today, May 1948*, p. 210.

[3] Joseph S. Roucek, "Geopolitics of Formosa", *World Affairs Interpreter, Winter 1951*, p. 398.

five prefectures (provinces) and the three districts into which Formosa was divided, by a Director General of Civil Administration, an Advisory Council, and an Office of Imperial Affairs. The Advisory Council, composed of high ranking officials and prominent civilians, among whom were Japanese as well as Formosans, "served largely the purpose of window dressing." [1] Legislation emanated entirely from Tokyo. [2]

Local government was under the strict control of the central administration. The provincial governors were aided by the provincial assemblies and councils. Their functions were purely advisory. All responsible positions were held by the Japanese. In the lower ranks Formosans were employed, preference being given to those who had undergone Japanese instruction in public schools and who could speak Japanese. [3]

It must be said to the credit of the Japanese rulers, however severe their rule may have been, that Formosa, notorious for unrest and lawlessness under the Imperial Chinese Government, was pacified in less than a decade and a stable government was established, though the antipathy of the turbulent aborigines to Japanese domination persisted. An elaborate police system was organised not only for preserving peace and order but also for enforcing censorship both in war and peace. During Japanese rule, political and cultural movements could not assume great dimensions owing to the policy of ruthless suppression, which "had as its aim the complete elimination of native intellectual leadership." [4] The result was that the Formosans could hardly acquire any political education essential to self-government.

One of the main objectives of Japanese policy in Formosa was to develop the island so as to serve the economic needs of Japan and enhance her national power. That she succeeded in achieving this end cannot be disputed. The island's economy was developed as an integral part of the empire. Contrary to the expectation of many that Formosa would prove to be a white elephant, she became "entirely self-supporting" after 1904. She had been valuable to Japan particularly because of her supply of foodstuffs

[1] Joseph W. Ballantine, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
[2] E. H. Dooman, H. Borton and C. Coville, "Formosa", *The Department of State Bulletin, June 3, 1945*, p. 1019.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 1020.
[4] Joseph W. Ballantine, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

and raw materials. She also provided Japan with markets for industrial products.

Under Japanese rule, rice, the chief crop, more than doubled in volume and about half was exported to Japan. "Japan took in 1938 nearly 50% of the total yield, which amounted to about 50,000,000 bu. or twice the yield of 1914." [1] The island was turned into one of the most important sugar producing areas of the world, and "except for about 200,000 tons of beet sugar produced in Japan, Formosa has supplied the sugar needs of the Japanese Empire, which normally run to about 1,500,000 tons a year." [2] As Professor Kenneth S. Latourette remarks: "The increase in both rice and sugar was in consequence of the desire of the Japanese government to make the empire self-sufficient in its food supply." [3] The Japanese also encouraged the export of superior varieties of bananas, pineapples and oranges. Also they organised the production of *oolong* tea, camphor, fish and they erected cement and paper-making plants. The systematic development of communications was one of the great achievements of the Japanese.

Another striking feature of Japanese rule in Formosa was the control of private enterprise by the Japanese. Most of the hydroelectric power which had been developed on the island and the mines were controlled by Japanese companies. "By 1941 the sugar manufacturing industry was almost entirely in the hands of six Japanese companies." [4] The semi-official Bank of Taiwan, opened in 1899, provided a system of currency. Opium, tobacco, camphor, alcohol and salt were all monopolised by the government. The extensive forest lands were owned almost exclusively (91 per cent) by the government. The government also administered the communications. In 1936 the Taiwan Development Company was established to intensify the economic exploitation of the island, the government providing half the initial capital of 30 million yen. This company was even the largest landholder in the island, which held 230,000 acres. [5]

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 9* (Encyclopaedia Britannica, Ltd., London 1951), p. 515.

[2] E. H. Dooman, H. Borton and C. Coville, *op. cit.*, p. 1021.

[3] Kenneth S. Latourette. *A Short History of the Far East* (The Macmillan Company, New York, Revised Edition, Second Printing 1952), p. 511.

[4] Joseph W. Ballantine, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[5] Fred W. Riggs, *Formosa under Chinese Nationalist Rule* (Issued under the auspices

"Total corporate capital in Formosa amounted in 1939 to 357 million yen (83.5 million dollars), the Japanese-owned share, which comprised 90 per cent, was in chief part the reinvestment of profits made in Formosa. Total Japanese investments in Formosa reached nearly 800 million yen (216 million dollars)." [1] Thus there is little doubt that the Japanese dominated almost every aspect of the island's economy.

The extent to which Japan succeeded in making Formosa a constituent part of the Japanese Empire may be judged from the foreign trade statistics. In 1939, 89.5 per cent of Taiwan's exports went to Japan, and 9 per cent to Korea and Manchuria under Japanese control. A similar situation existed with regard to imports, Japan providing 83.4 per cent, and Korea and Manchuria 12 per cent. [2]

With characteristic perseverance the Japanese government instituted a comprehensive system of public health and sanitation supervised by the police. Plague, cholera and typhus were practically eliminated, and malaria and small pox were drastically checked. "Though behind contemporary Western practice, the medical and public health facilities of Formosa were in advance of anything realised on the south and east Asian mainland." [3]

Though the purpose of Japanese colonial policy was certainly not to develop the island for the benefit of the population, yet their measures, incidentally, brought for the Formosans "the highest material standard of living that is available to ordinary citizens anywhere in the Far East, with the possible exception of Japan itself." [4]

No less attention was directed to oust foreign influence from the island. Immediately after the occupation, the island which is known to Occidentals as Formosa, was renamed Taiwan (i.e. terraced fields). "Permission for foreigners to enter the island was given reluctantly and only to very few persons." [5] Before

of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, The Macmillan Company, New York 1952), p. 67.

[1] E. H. Dooman, H. Borton and C. Coville, *op .cit.*, p. 1021.

[2] Fred W. Riggs, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

[3] *ibid.*, p. 133.

[4] A. Ravenholt, "Formosa Today", *Foreign Affairs, July 1952*, p. 616.

[5] A. J. Grajdanzev, "Formosa (Taiwan) under Japanese Rule", *Pacific Affairs, September 1942*, p. 314.

Formosa was occupied by Japan a considerable part of British exports to the island consisted of opium. This was declared a government monopoly, as was the lucrative business in camphor, salt and tobacco. Japanese steamship companies soon replaced the foreign companies. The results of Japanese attempts to exclude foreign influence were quite effective. This can be corroborated from a study of the direction of the island's trade. The share of Great Britain in Formosa's imports, which was 7.3 per cent in 1896–1900, ceased altogether in 1939. The share of the U.S.A. for the corresponding years was 5.3 per cent and 0.4 per cent respectively, the share of China, 37.4 per cent and 0.5 per cent (1938). In 1896–1900, 63.1 per cent of the island's exports went to China; in 1938 they fell to 1.7 per cent.[1] In sharp contrast to the above figures, the share of Japan in 1939, as has already been pointed out, was 83.4 per cent of the imports and 89.5 per cent of the exports. There were no European or American establishments on the island. Thus it may not be too much of an exaggeration to say that "in 43 years the process of economic assimilation was complete, the foreigners were squeezed out and Taiwan became an exclusive preserve for the Japanese industrialists and merchants."[1]

Valuable as the island was to Japan, it was not congenial to Japanese emigrants. Although the government put into force an immigration plan for Formosa to reduce over-population in the home islands, few Japanese wished to emigrate. In 1938 there were 309,000 Japanese in Taiwan, which was only 5.4 per cent of the total population.

One of the major purposes of Japanese policy was to assimilate the population to Japanese culture and to inculcate into the people loyalty and obedience to Japanese rule. With this end in view, they introduced elementary education and technical training on an upper primary level for the natives, and restricted the opportunities for advanced training to the Japanese residents. Japanese was used as the medium of instruction, though Chinese was taught as an advanced study. In 1927 Taihoku Imperial University was set up to serve the needs of the ruling community. In spite of religious toleration the people were urged to observe Shintoism.

[1] *ibid.*

The Japanese rulers also gradually adopted a policy of Japanisation towards the Formosan Chinese. The Chinese were in very close contact with the mainland. Japan realised that it would be suicidal to allow them to maintain their close ties with the mainland as these might foster a Chinese consciousness in the new subjects of her empire. Hence, Chinese immigration, except for a quota of 10,000 coolies a year, was forbidden. Another method that was adopted in 1898 to control the Formosan Chinese was the *pao-chia* system of mutual responsibility and mutual spying. [1] With the development of Chinese nationalism in the mainland Japanese policy in Formosa took a new turn. Along with the policy of repression, "conscious efforts were made to wipe out Chinese influence in the cultural sphere. Primary education was utilized as a principal means of denationalisation and assimilation." [2]

The strategical importance of Formosa owing to her geographical situation, led Japan, during the late thirties and the war years, to develop and turn the island into a great military base for the southward drive against the possessions of the Western Powers. An important device that was adopted for expansion outwards from Formosa was the recruitment and training of Formosan Chinese, who were subservient to Japanese interests for the purposes of espionage and other devious activities in South China. [3] During the Second World War the island made, according to the *Japan Year Book*, "invaluable contributions toward the southward movement of the Imperial Army and Navy." [4]

With the formal inauguration of the Greater East Asia Ministry on November 1, 1942, Formosa was placed under the Home Ministry. The island was designated an integral part of Japan proper and thus its colonial status was terminated. Only towards the end of the war when Japan was confronted with a series of military and political reverses, prudence forced her to relax the rigorous features of the Japanisation policy to win the

[1] *ibid.*, p. 315. This system was first applied in China under the Chou dynasty and perfected under the Sui and Fang dynasties.

[2] *ibid.*, p. 316.

[3] Joseph W. Ballantine, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

[4] *Japan Year Book, 1943–1944*, p. 921. Quoted in Joseph W. Ballantine, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

goodwill and co-operation of the people in order to defend the island against the Allied offensive. According to Tokyo broadcasts on April 1, 1945, Emperor Hirohito issued a rescript granting to Formosa representation in the Imperial Diet. This decree provided that ".... three members from Taiwan will immediately be appointed to the House of Peers by the Imperial nominations for 7-year terms."[1] In addition Formosa was to be represented by 5 members who were to be elected in 1946 in the House of Representatives. It is quite obvious that the rescript was "designed as part of the political scorched-earth policy and as a method of political expediency rather than inspired by any real desire upon the part of the Japanese government to grant the Formosans any real status as Japanese subjects."[2]

KOREA

Strategically situated and considerably rich in natural resources, Korea was the second cornerstone of the imperial structure. For more than three decades she was a source of foodstuffs and raw materials, an outlet for manufactured goods, and a base for further continental expansion for the Land of the Rising Sun. During the period of her domination, Japan steadily pursued, as in Formosa, a policy of integrating the peninsula and its people into the political, cultural and economic systems of her empire, and was able to turn towards the Asiatic mainland the "dagger pointed at her heart."

Like Formosa, Korea was treated as a Japanese colony under the supervision of the Overseas Ministry, but in November 1942, upon the establishment of the Greater East Asia Ministry, she was "united" with Japan proper for greater control, and responsibility was transferred to the Home Ministry.

The colonial government, which was set up after the annexation in 1910, was based on a highly organised bureaucracy, with a Governor-General "at the apex of Korea's pyramid of power."[3] "Although the post of Governor-General after 1919 was techni-

[1] Quoted in E. H. Dooman, H. Borton and C. Coville, *op. cit.*, p. 1020.
[2] E. H. Dooman, H. Borton and C. Coville, *op. cit.*, p. 1020.
[3] George M. McCune, *Korea Today* (Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge 1950), p. 23.

cally open to all, the office in fact was never occupied by a civilian."[1] The Governor-General was bound by the laws of Japan, but he had the power to issue decrees on a wide variety of subjects outside the field of regular law. He was "virtually an absolute monarch"[2] in the Korean peninsula. There was a Central Advisory Council, composed of Koreans but nominated by the Governor-General from the wealthy aristocracy and business class for a three-year term. The Council did not possess any authority and was "obviously a powerless puppet group which did not represent the Korean people."[3]

Local government was graded down from the province to the village. The whole peninsula was divided into thirteen provinces, each ruled by a governor. "The local organization in many respects paralleled the set-up at the national level, the heads of provinces, municipalities, and counties were all appointed by the Governor-General."[4] As a result of the independence movement of 1919, under the impact of President Wilson's doctrine of national self-determination, the colonial administration was forced to grant some degree of local autonomy. Advisory Councils, which were to be elected in part by local communities, were instituted. These councils, however, "served the purposes of the Japanese administration by allying many wealthy Koreans with the Japanese officialdom."[5] That the Japanese attempted to govern the peninsula with the support of the aristocracy is also borne out by the fact that upon annexation, the Korean Emperor and Crown Prince were accorded rank as Japanese Imperial Princes, grants were made to the Royal Household, and titles conferred on many ex-Ministers of State and former officials.[6]

An important feature of the colonial administration in Korea, as in her other possesions, was "the virtual monopoly by Japanese of administrative positions on the higher levels .... More than 80 per cent of the highest ranking officials (*Chokunin* and *Sonin*),

[1] Harley F. Macnair & Donald F. Lach, *Modern Far Eastern International Relations* (D. van Nostrand Company, Inc., New York 1950), p. 623.

[2] A. J. Grajdanzev, *Modern Korea* (The John Day Company for the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York 1944), p. 238.

[3] George M. McCune, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[4] *ibid.*

[5] *ibid.*, p. 25.

[6] "Korea Past and Present", *The World Today, April 1946*, p. 182.

60 per cent of the intermediary rank (*Hannin*), and about 50 per cent of the clerks, secretaries and minor employees were Japanese." [1] The Koreans were mostly appointed in the lower ranks of the administration.

The police system enjoyed a unique position in the colonial administration. It was as a whole "self-contained and centralised" under the control of the Governor-General. Its task was not limited to the maintenance of peace and order and the prevention and detection of crimes but, surprisingly enough, extended into the field of politics, economic activity, education, religion, morals, health, public welfare and fire control. The police had also the power to exercise summary jurisdiction. The laws applied in Korea were, in the main, Japanese laws. Despite the hostile attitude of the people towards police control and its various methods, the police were, however, "generally successful in forestalling overt action on the part of the Korean public." [2]

It was indeed remarkable that "the preparation of the Koreans for eventual self-government had no place in Japanese policy." [3] Every attempt was made to check the fires of Korean nationalism.

The Koreans hardly accepted with equanimity their subjection to Japanese rule, and the colonial power had to govern the peninsula until 1919 by military force and martial law. The Japanese suppressed all political organisations. The outbreak of the independence movement, following the presentation to the Japanese authorities of a Declaration of Independence on April 1, 1919, signed by 33 leading Korean nationalists, resulted in further severe measures by the colonial authorities, as a result of which many Koreans had to take shelter abroad. Japanese repression failed, however, to destroy Korean nationalist spirit, and a self-styled Korean Provisional Government established itself in exile at first in Shanghai and remained in existence until 1945. But Japanese domination "did succeed in suppressing Korean leadership and in weakening the latent capacities of the Koreans for assuming responsibility in governing their country," [4] and hence, Korea remained "politically immature, according to Western standards." It was in view of this

[1] George M. McCune, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 26.
[3] "Korea Past and Present", p. 190.
[4] George M. McCune, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

that the Cairo Declaration of December 1943 provided that Korea "in due course shall become free and independent."

Closely connected with the Japanese attempts to suppress Korean nationalism was the policy of Japanisation of the Korean people. The purpose was to make the Koreans loyal and obedient Japanese subjects and to obliterate all vestiges of Korean culture and national individuality. As soon as Korea became a Japanese colony, the educational system was reorganised on the Japanese model. "All the schools of lower grade were closed on the pretext that the teachers were not pedagogical experts! After an interval during which common school education was almost wholly in abeyance the Japanese started schools in which the Japanese language and history were prominent." [1] The teaching of Korean history and literature was suppressed. All the Korean geographical names were changed to Japanese. Korea was named *Chosen* and the old capital, Seoul, *Keijo.*

"Textbooks and publications of all kinds were issued in the Japanese language. Proficiency in that language was the only door to preferment." [2] It may be stated that the percentage of Koreans who understood the Japanese language rose from 0.6 in 1913 to 13.9 in 1939. [3] That education under Japanese rule was essentially meant to serve the ruling nation is evident from the fact that "while there were 380 elementary schools solely for Japanese children, there were some four hundred for the Koreans, although the Japanese constituted less than two per cent of the total population." [4] Even in the Keijo Imperial University Japanese students were in a majority, the number being 350 out of the total of 556. [5]

The Japanese rulers were equally interested in eliminating foreign influence from the peninsula in order to fully absorb the Korean nation. The important matter of education, which was almost entirely in the hands of Americans, Canadians, Englishmen and Frenchmen, was immediately taken out of these Western hands. After December 8, 1941 all American

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 13* (Encyclopaedia Britannica, Ltd., London 1951), p. 488.
[2] *ibid.*
[3] *Modern Korea, op. cit.*, p. 269.
[4] Harold M. Vinacke, *A History of the Far East in Modern Times* (Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., New York 1950), p. 354.
[5] *Modern Korea, op. cit.*, p. 263.

institutions were closed and Christians were compelled to compromise themselves by doing homage before Japanese shrines.[1] Japan was also careful enough to destroy particularly the British and American commercial interests in the peninsula.

In the field of colonisation, the colonial power achieved little success, although emigration was strongly encouraged. In 1939 there were only 650,100 Japanese in the peninsula out of a total population of 22,800,647.

The main efforts of the Japanese were, however, directed to orientate Korea's entire economy in such fashion as would aid the imperial economy and the homeland. When Japan acquired a free hand in Korea in 1905, it was expected by the Western Powers that she would fulfil the duties towards the "white man's burden" in the Far East. But "in reality Japanese domination of Korea was no more beneficial for the Koreans, and possibly less so, than were other colonial regimes for their subjects. Exploitation was the keynote and virtually every development was undertaken with the objective of maximizing the benefits which would accrue either directly or indirectly to Japan."[2]

It is also true at the same time that the peninsula under Japanese rule underwent a remarkable economic development and the Koreans materially benefitted by many of the improvements made, which was far from the intention of the Japanese. As in Formosa, the Japanese created entirely modern communications, a railway system, second only to that of Japan itself, an extensive postal system, telecommunications and good roads. The hydro-electric resources were harnessed; the agricultural system was improved; better hygienic methods were adopted; the primitive barter economy was replaced by a modern monetary system integrated with that of Japan. "A financial and banking structure appropriate to the needs of a modern colonial power"[3] was built up. Attention was also directed to promote light and heavy industries for the exploitation of the colony's resources.

It should, however, be remembered that much of the develop-

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 13*, p. 487.
[2] George M. McCune, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 31.

ment of Korea was effected for serving the interests of Japan. The peninsula "was developed as a rice bowl for Japan." [1] The annexation of Korea was followed by a period of extreme rice shortage in the homeland. Rice production was, therefore, enormously increased under a 30-year plan applied by the Japanese. The result was that "by the early 1930s Japan had succeeded with the aid of Korean and Formosan rice in making herself self-supporting in her staple foodstuff." [2] As much of Korean rice was exported to Japan, the Koreans were forced to cut down on their own rice consumption and to import millet from Manchuria. The following statement may serve as evidence of this fact: "Per capita domestic consumption in the five-year period 1931–1935 was 45 per cent lower than that in the years 1916–1920. Yet in the same period the percentage of the rice exported to Japan had increased from 14 per cent to 48 per cent." [3]

Apart from rice, the cultivation of cotton and tobacco as cash crops for export was also increased. Korea was responsible for almost all the cotton grown in the Japanese Empire. Ginseng, a distinctively Korean crop, was cultivated as a government monopoly in the north, mainly for export to South China where it was much valued for medical purposes. [4]

Korea was of prime importance to Japan also for her considerable mineral wealth – coal, iron ore, gold and alunite, and also some magnesite barytes, copper, fluorspar, graphite, lead, lithium, mercury, mica, molybdenum, nickel, tungsten and zinc, some of which – as for instance alunite, from which aluminium is derived – are not to be found in Japan. The production of all these minerals indeed increased very considerably under Japanese control.

The same can be said of industrial development. Korea's considerable sources of hydroelectric power combined with cheap labour facilitated a rapid increase in the output of industrial production. "At the time of the seizure of control by Japan 85.6 per cent of the Korean working population was employed

[1] L. K. Rosinger & Associates, *The State of Asia* (Alfred A. Knopf for the American Institute of Pacific Relations, New York 1953), p. 131.
[2] "Korea Past and Present", p. 190.
[3] George M. McCune, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
[4] *Chambers's Encyclopaedia, Vol. 8* (George Newnes Limited, London 1950), p. 257.

in agriculture. By 1939 this proportion had sunk to 68.3 per cent, while the percentage employed in industry and mining had risen from 2.2 to 5.3. The value of industrial production increased over 80 per cent between 1933 and 1938." [1]

In the internal development of the peninsula the predominance of Japanese interests was firmly established. As a result "few Koreans attained positions of responsibility or wealth." [2] Only small-scale household industry remained in the hands of the Koreans. This was considered even by the Japanese authorities as undesirable. The colonial policy further made it possible for the Japanese to acquire the ownership of enormous tracts of land in Korea. The process of expropriation of the Korean peasantry reached such an extent that "1,000,000 Koreans had emigrated to Siberia and Manchuria in search of a livelihood." [3] The "hegemony of Japanese self-interest" was clearly visible. In 1938 there were 121 Japanese mining companies in Korea, as against 29 Korean companies. [4] Almost all the large industrial concerns were owned by the Japanese. The Oriental Development Company was "backed by the whole power of Japan." [5] Statistics of corporations show that "at the end of 1938 Korean capital represented 11.3 per cent of the total paid-up capital, whereas the paid-up capital of the average Japanese corporation was six times as large as that of the average Korean." [6]

There is thus little doubt that Japan "came into practically full possession of the Korean economy in the years after 1905." [7] "Financially, Chosen was controlled by Japan through control of investments as well as through the operation of the Bank of Chosen which was an official bank of issue of Japanese currency and the single effective instrument by which fiscal policies of the Japanese Government were carried out in that territory. So strong was the hold of Japan over the economic structure of Chosen, that approximately 97% of all corporations (*Kaisha*) doing business in Chosen were controlled by Japanese. When one adds to the picture the fact that the Government of Chosen

[1] "Korea Past and Present", p. 187.
[2] George M. McCune, *op. cit.*, p. 33.
[3] *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 13*, p. 490.
[4] "Korea Past and Present", p. 187.
[5] *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 13*, p. 490.
[6] "Korea Past and Present", p. 187.
[7] George M. McCune, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

was completely Japanese, one can understand the completeness of the integration of the two economies under the control of Japan." [1] Korea's external trade may also serve as an index to illustrate, to a great extent, this fact. In 1939 her exports to Japan formed 73.2 per cent, and to yen-bloc countries 96.9 per cent of the total. Imports from Japan in the same year accounted for 88.6 per cent, and from Japan and countries occupied by her, 95.1 per cent of the total. [2]

Thus, Japan built up her position in the Land of Morning Calm by her policy of systematically altering the framework of the country's government, culture and economy to conform to her own interests and needs, and there is hardly any doubt that she used this vital pillar as a base for the conquest of Manchuria in 1931, thus fulfilling one of the objectives of Hideyoshi, her sixteenth century leader.

The establishment of the puppet state of Manchukuo tremendously enhanced Korea's role in the eyes of the Japanese. The peninsula was now made not only to serve as a link between the Home Islands and the continental exploitation but also to satisfy the requirements for further Japanese preparations for war. This brought about an intensified industrial development in the colony. The heavy industries – the exploitation and primary processing of iron and steel, copper, the light metals, and chemicals – received special attention and consideration. Gold production was given particular care in this immediate pre-war period, for gold was a source of foreign exchange with which strategic materials could be obtained from the United States. The output of gold reached 20 tons in 1937. [3] During the war years the colony served Japan's war needs. In short, it can be said that during thirty-five years of colonial rule, a "vassal economic relationship" was established with Imperial Japan. The Korean economy was only a part of that of Japan.

This short survey of Japanese policy in Formosa and Korea makes it abundantly clear that in the political structure the pivot of colonial administration was the principle of centralised

[1] *IMTFE Proceedings*, p. 8, 442.
[2] *Modern Korea, op. cit.*, p. 228.
[3] "Korea Past and Present", p. 187.

autocratic bureaucracy on the model of the mother country. Economic exploitation of these territories through the framework of the Japanese monopolistic economy for the benefit of Japan appears to have been a dominant element. This, however, was co-ordinated with the material development of these areas so far as it was consistent with her own interests. The promotion of emigration, the elimination of foreign influence, and the cultural domination of the subject races with the ulterior object of Japanisation and assimilation were the other chief characteristics. In brief, paramountcy of Japanese interests was the keynote of her colonial policy. This is, as we shall see, also amply demonstrated in her occupation régime in Indonesia.

CHAPTER III

PLANS FOR FURTHER CONQUEST
(1911–1930)

The occupation of Formosa, the acquisition of vast economic interests in Manchuria, and the annexation of Korea prepared the ground for further expansion of the Japanese Empire. "The dreams of Hideyoshi and the program outlined in Lord Hotta's memorial to the Emperor appeared more and more possible of realization." [1]

After the annexation of Korea in 1910, the question of extending the lease of Kwantung Peninsula and the South Manchurian Railway zone "became one of paramount importance in domestic as well as foreign politics of the Island Empire." [2] As Baron Kato, before leaving London to become the foreign minister in the third Katsura cabinet, remarked in January 1913 that "Japan entertained vital political and psychological concern in the Kwantung Peninsula and the concessions of the South Manchuria"; that "the Japanese people were determined to maintain a permanent occupation of the Kwantung Province"; and that if a "psychological moment" arrived, Japan would not hesitate to extend the lease and concessions in Manchuria. [3] "The opportunity for which Baron Kato was waiting came, in his opinion, with the World War." [4] The outbreak of the war in Europe was regarded by Japan as a great opportunity not only to destroy the German influence in Eastern Asia in retaliation of Germany's part in the three-Power intervention after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–1895, but also to make the empire more secure on the continent. Ostensibly shielded

[1] *Japan's Dream of World Empire. The Tanaka Memorial*, p. 17.
[2] T. Takeuchi, *War and Diplomacy in the Japanese Empire* (Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., New York 1935), p. 183.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 184.
[4] R. Hidemichi Akagi, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

by the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, Japan, therefore, declared war on Germany on August 23, 1914, and occupied the Kiaochow Leased Territory as well as the German islands north of the equator, which included the Marianas (excepting Guam), the Carolines, and the Marshalls. "By occupying these stepping stones Japan extended her territorial conquests and influence to a zone of the Pacific which previously had been controlled exclusively by Europe and the United States." [1]

The complete elimination of Germany as a military and political force in the Far East thus paved the way for the "psychological moment", of which Baron Kato had spoken two years ago, and in spite of the earlier declaration that Japan had no territorial ambition and her entry into the war been "strictly limited to the necessities of her own self-defence," [2] Japanese Minister Hioki at Peking, on January 18, 1915, presented directly to President Yüan Shih-kai, in disregard of the Chinese Foreign Office, a document known as the Twenty-One Demands, divided into five groups, which were to be accepted by China.

These Demands were, however, the clearest possible indication of Japan's ambitions in China. When they are examined in detail, one is inevitably led to the conclusion that Japan wanted "to take advantage of this war to get control of China." [3] As envisaged by the Demands, "there would be three centres from which Japanese influence would be exercised – Manchuria, Shantung, and Fukien. Manchuria was to be made more completely a reserved area for Japanese capital and colonization, but with administrative control wielded through advisers and through priority in the matter of loans. In Shantung, the interest formerly belonging to Germany was to be taken over and expanded. A priority of right in Fukien was demanded, both in investment and development; this would effectively bar other nations and would assimilate this province to Manchuria. The northern sphere of Japan was to be expanded by including Inner Mongolia. From the Shantung sphere, influence could

[1] P. H. Clyde, *The Far East* (Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York 1952), pp. 380–381.

[2] T. Takeuchi, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

[3] President Yüan Shih-kai remarked to the American Minister to China in 1914: "Japan is going to take advantage of this war to get control of China". Quoted in Paul S. Reinsch. *An American Diplomat in China* (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London 1922), p. 129.

be made to radiate to the interior by means of railway extensions to Honan and Shansi. Similarly, from the Fukien sphere, railway concessions would carry Japanese influence into the provinces of Kiangsi, Hupei, and Kwantung. The Japanese interest already existing in the Hanyehping iron and coal enterprise, which was a mortgage with right to purchase pig iron at certain rates, was to be consolidated into a Japanese-controlled company. Added to these was the significant demand that outsiders be denied the right to work any mines in the neighbourhood of those owned by the Hanyehping company without its consent; nor were they to be permitted, lacking such consent, to carry out any undertaking that might directly or indirectly affect the interests of that company. This astonishing proposal sought to make the Japanese concern the arbiter of industrial enterprise in the middle Yangtse Valley." [1] It is significant to note that any interference with the formal "integrity, sovereignty, and independence" of China was avoided; but "actually she would be brought under the sway of Japan in the manner most approved by modern imperialism." [2]

The most far-reaching demands were, however, included in Group V, "a full acceptance of which on the part of China would have reduced her to mere protectorate of Japan." [3] As Reinsch states: "Group V consisted of the sweeping demands which would have virtually deprived the Chinese Government of the substance of control over its own affairs. The employment of effective Japanese advisers in political, financial, and military affairs; the joint Chino-Japanese organization of the police forces in important places; the purchase from Japan of a fixed amount of munitions of war – 50 per cent, or more; and the establishment of Chino-Japanese jointly worked arsenals, were embraced in these demands. The latter involved effective control over the armament and military organization of China." [4]

While presenting the Demands, Japan emphasized the importance of keeping the whole affair secret, in order "not to arouse the suspicion abroad that advantage was being taken of the helpless situation in China and of the world war." [5] "Significantly,

[1] Paul S. Reinsch, *op cit.*, p. 133.
[2] Harold M. Vinacke, *op. cit.*, p. 368.
[3] T. Takeuchi, *op. cit.*, p. 188.
[4] Paul S. Reinsch, op. cit., p. 134.
[5] T. Takeuchi, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

the paper upon which the Demands were recorded was watermarked with dreadnoughts and machine guns."[1] It is evident that Nippon aimed at fulfilling her ambition by a threat of force without having recourse to actual military action. Faced with an ultimatum, China had to yield. Many, though by no means all owing to the pressure of Western Powers, of the demands set forth in the original document were incorporated in treaties and notes on May 25, 1915.[2] Thus "the temptation afforded by the preoccupation of Europe and the expansionist pressure from within the nation"[3] secured for the Empire a commanding position in China.

At the Peace Conference of Paris, 1919, Japan succeeded to a great extent in safeguarding her newly-acquired status in the Far East on the basis of the secret agreements of February and March 1917 (by which England, France, Italy, and Russia had promised to support the Japanese claims), the Lansing-Ishii agreement of November 2, 1917 (by which the United States had recognised that "territorial propinquity" gave Japan "special interests" in China), and the Mandates System. Encouraged by the successes achieved during the war years and taking advantage of the Allied Intervention in Russia in the summer of 1918, Japanese Militarists clamoured for further territorial acquisition. Even after the withdrawal of the American troops in January 1920, Japan continued to occupy the Maritime Provinces and Northern Sakhalin. This imperialist expansion was simultaneously marked by an increase in economic power. "The war had given Japan a virtual commercial monopoly in the foreign trade of China, India, the Netherlands Indies, and Australia. Japanese factories experienced an unprecedented growth, and, together with war industries, made Japan a creditor nation with surplus capital seeking investment abroad."[4] Further, she was given a permanent seat on the Council of the League of Nations, "which was equivalent to the recognition that Japan was one of the half-dozen great Powers of the world."[5]

[1] George W. Keeton, *China, the Far East and the Future* (Stevens & Sons Limited, London 1949), p. 147.
[2] For details see Harold M. Vinacke, *op. cit.*, pp. 368–371.
[3] Kenneth S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 540.
[4] P. H. Clyde, *op. cit.*, pp. 403–404.
[5] J. Hampden Jackson, *The Between-War World* (Victor Gollancz Ltd., London 1947), p. 287.

Thus the close of the First World War had left the Land of the Rising sun the predominant power in the Far East.

The rapid expansion of Japanese power, however, caused a serious alarm to the Western Powers, particularly the United States, whose interests in Eastern Asia seemed to be at stake, and Japan had to renounce her forward policy on the Asiatic mainland in the face of their strong and combined opposition at the Washington Conference of 1921–1922, mainly designed "to apply the brakes to policies which Japan had followed since the Twenty-One Demands of 1915."[1] She had to become a party to the several Washington Treaties – Four-Power Treaty of December 13, 1921, Five-Power Treaty of February 6, 1922, and Nine-Power Treaty of February 6, 1922,[2] which had the effect of erecting a legal barrier to the expansion of Japanese imperialism. As a result of the Four-Power Treaty, the old Anglo-Japanese Alliance, considered to be a bulwark of Japan's expansionist policy in Asia, was replaced by the Anglo-American bloc, thus devising a new balance of power in the Far East. Japan was not only diplomatically isolated but also reduced to a status inferior to that of Great Britain and the United States by fixing the naval strength of Japan at 60% of Anglo-American figures by the Five-Power Treaty. Though the Four-Power and Five-Power Treaties temporarily safeguarded her position in a limited area in the Western Pacific, American leadership in the Far East was firmly established, and in future she had to be prepared to face the united opposition of the entire West. Moreover, Japan had to return to China the Kiaochow territory, ceded to her by the Treaty of Versailles, and to withdraw completely the fifth and the most objectionable group of the Twenty-One Demands. She had, on the contrary, to subscribe to the doctrine of the Open Door and Chinese territorial and administrative integrity by becoming a signatory to the Nine-Power Treaty. Pressure was also exerted to withdraw the Japanese military forces from the Maritime Provinces and Northern Sakhalin, which were finally restored to the Soviet

[1] P. H. Clyde, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

[2] Four-Power Treaty between Great Britain, the United States, France and Japan; Five-Power Treaty between Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France and Italy; Nine-Power Treaty between Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, Italy, China, Belgium, the Netherlands and Portugal.

Union in 1925. Thus "intimidated by a firm Anglo-American front and by the moral pressure of world opinion, Japan had accepted, if not an open defeat, at any rate a serious check to her ambitions." [1]

Although the Washington Settlement compelled Japan to abandon her continental policy, Nipponese Militarists still "continued to speculate on Hideyoshi's dream and to make plans for its accomplishment."[2] On March 31, 1922, an important meeting of army and navy officers was held in Tokyo and new plans for war were formulated. An account of the meeting was published the following day in the *Yomiuri Shimbun* (a Tokyo daily paper), in which it was stated that the Supreme War Council had decided that, in the event of war, Japan should at once "establish close communications with the Asiatic mainland in an area commencing from Hankow, Shantung up to Harbin and Karafuto (Sakhalin), which would constitute her first line of defence."

Concerning the plan of military operations, the paper made the following startling revelations: "To strengthen her own defence, Japan should first of all augment her garrison forces in Formosa, Karafuto, and Korea. In order to be adequately supplied with war materials for a long struggle and to ensure ultimate victory, Japan should at all costs establish unhampered access to the coal and iron producing centres at Hanyang and Pinghsiang (that is, in the heart of the Yangtse Valley). To forestall swift changes in her international relations, Japan should take over Peking; and to assure herself of a ready supply of provisions from Manchuria, Mukden and Changchun should be placed under her occupation." [3]

The influence of the Militarists was, however, greatly reduced as a result of the loss of prestige involved in the Washington Treaties, and the next few years Japan observed a policy of "commercial expansion" and "political goodneighbourliness." [4] But again forces were silently at work to undo such a policy.

[1] E. H. Carr, *International Relations Between the Two World Wars 1919–1939* (Macmillan & Co. Ltd., London 1947), p. 21.

[2] *Japan's Dream of World Empire. The Tanaka Memorial*, p. 19.

[3] Quoted in *Documents on International Affairs 1932*, ed. by John W. Wheeler-Bennett (Oxford Univ. Press, London 1933), p. 359.

[4] A. J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs 1931* (Oxford Univ. Press, London 1932), p. 400.

The disastrous earthquake of 1923 followed the post-war slump "as a crowning economic blow." [1] Japan was already feeling the pressure of a rapidly growing population (1 million a year during the twenties of the present century), a source of embarrassment to the meagre economic resources of the country. The economic instability was further intensified by the protective policy of other nations and the increasing Chinese boycott, which hit her international trade. In the field of foreign relations, her position was gradually becoming unfavourable. The United States Restriction of Immigration Act of 1924, which was imitated by several of the British Dominions, came "as an overt political humiliation." [2] The decision of the British Government in 1925 to establish a first-class naval base at Singapore looked like a further blow to Japanese aspirations. More ominous were the rise of strong Chinese nationalism with its philosophy of bringing about the unification of the whole of China and the gradual consolidation of Russian power in the Far East. As Prof. A. J. Toynbee remarks: "Japan – fast bound to the Far Eastern mainland by an unalterable accident of geography, as Britain was bound to the continent of Europe – could scarcely hope to maintain her hardly won rank of a Great Power if the U.S.S.R. and a militantly Nationalist China, reunited by Russian aid, were to league themselves together against her. Poor as Japan was in minerals, her economic interests in Manchuria were not superfluities but vital necessities of her national life. On the other hand, her political status in the leased territory of Kwantung and in the zone of the South Manchurian Railway was not only an eyesore to Russia but was a servitude upon Chinese national sovereignty which young China might be expected to challenge so soon as it lay in her power.

"Thus the international position of Japan – with Nationalist China, Soviet Russia, and the race-conscious English-speaking peoples of the Pacific closing in upon her – had suddenly become precarious again." [3]

The result was that the conciliatory policy was discredited, and General Baron Tanaka, a former war minister and a leading

[1] A. J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs 1926* (Oxford Univ. Press, London 1928), p. 386.

[2] *ibid.*

[3] *ibid.*

figure of the Militarists, came to power in April 1927 with his "strong" policy towards China. Premier Tanaka called an important conference of key officials (June 27–July 7, 1927), which formulated "the positive policy towards China." A document published a few months later in Chinese papers as the *Tanaka Memorial,* and said to have been presented to the Emperor on July 25, 1927, "purports to be the findings of Tanaka's conference." [1]

The Tanaka Memorial is, however, one of the most striking documents dealing with Japan's far-reaching imperialistic aims. Though the publication of this document caused a great deal of surprise, "it did not contain anything that had not been contained in Hideyoshi's letter, in Lord Hotta's memorial to the Emperor, or in the writings or speeches of dozens of other Japanese patriots and statesmen over a period of three centuries." [2] The Memorial says: "For the sake of self-protection as well as the protection of others, Japan cannot remove the difficulties in Eastern Asia unless she adopts a policy of Blood and Iron. But in carrying out this policy we have to face the United States which has been turned against us by China's policy of fighting poison with poison. In the future if we want to control China, we must first crush the United States just as in the past we had to fight in the Russo-Japanese War. But in order to conquer China we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia. In order to conquer the world, we must first conquer China. If we succeed in conquering China the rest of the Asiatic countries and the South Sea countries will fear us and surrender to us. Then the world will realize that Eastern Asia is ours and will not dare to violate our rights. This is the plan left to us by Emperor Meiji, the success of which is essential to our national existence." [3] "Having China's entire resources at our disposal", continues the Memorial, "we shall proceed to conquer India, the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Central Asia, and even Europe." [4] Thus the document clearly reveals Japan's dream of world empire. She was now on the look out for an opportunity to push forward.

[1] P. H. Clyde, *op. cit.*, p. 495. The document "was frequently referred to in the Japanese Press before the Manchurian situation arose in September 1931, without ever raising any doubt as to its authenticity" – John W. Wheeler-Bennett, ***Documents on International Affairs 1932***, p. 361.

[2] *Japan's Dream of World Empire. The Tanaka Memorial*, p. 20.

[3] *ibid.*, pp. 28–29. [4] *ibid.*, p. 33.

CHAPTER IV

POLICY IN MANCHURIA

In Manchuria Japanese policy marked a significant departure from that which she had followed in Formosa and Korea. She here demonstrated a novel technique in imperialism, by avoiding the cruder nineteenth century methods of open annexation or the proclamation of a protectorate. Her dexterous manipulation resulted in the creation of a political organisation, which assumed the garb of an independent and sovereign state.

The expulsion of the régime of Chang Hsueh-liang after the "incident" of September 18, 1931 was immediately followed by the reorganization of local governments, "aided by the strength of the Chinese sentiment of local particularism and of attachment to particular leaders." [1] Having established suitably subservient provincial administrations by January 1932, the Japanese then proceeded to the next step of co-ordinating them into a single state. They, therefore, organized a Self-Government Guiding Board, the main purpose of which was to foster an independence movement, directed and operated by the Kwantung Army (which had been responsible for the conquest of Manchuria) but headed by a Chinese, Yu Chung-han. This, in turn, gave birth to a Northeastern Supreme Administrative Council for preparing the foundations of the new state. On February 18, 1932 this body issued a Declaration of Independence, and expressed its intention of setting up the Republic of Manchukuo, with Henry P'u Yi, ex-Emperor of China, as the Chief Executive. To give the appearance of self-determination an All-Manchurian Convention was held at Mukden on February 29. On March 9 an Organic Law, providing a constitution, on the Japanese model, was promulgated, and Henry P'u Yi, who had been in Japanese

[1] F. C. Jones, *Manchuria Since 1931* (Royal Institute of Int. Affairs, London 1949), p. 20.

custody, was formally installed as the Regent. Three days later the foreign Powers were informed of the creation of the "independent" and "sovereign" state of Manchukuo and were requested to extend recognition to it. The constitution was reorganized by the Organic Law of March 1, 1934 when the Regency was dropped, and an imperial system was established, with the Regent becoming Emperor of Manchukuo.

Despite Japanese assertions, Manchukuo was far from being either "independent" or "sovereign," and "was kept under careful Japanese supervision and direction," [1] which was characteristic of Japanese colonial administration. The puppet character of Manchukuo was revealed by various methods of control exercised by Japan. Although the Emperor of Manchukuo was vested with executive, legislative and judicial powers, he, like the Emperor of Japan, did nothing without the advice of his ministers, who in turn were controlled by Japanese vice-ministers. [2] The General Affairs Board of the State Council, which was "the real director of policy and controller of all governmental activities" [3] and which was, according to one Japanese officer of the Kwantung Army's General Staff, "a steel frame" [4] holding together the whole régime, was always headed by a Japanese; while each of its six bureaux was also headed by a Japanese. Although the highest posts were generally held by *Manchus*, the actual administrative control was in the hands of Japanese officials, who were placed in key positions, either as advisers or direct officials. At the end of 1936, "taking the administrative branches of the government as a whole, including the provincial offices, the tendency was to approximate to a ratio of 40 per cent Manchurians to 60 per cent Japanese in the three upper grades of the Civil Service." [5] These figures show that the Manchukuo régime was not only directed at the top by Japanese officials "ensconced" in the General Affairs Board, but that routine administration was principally carried on by Japanese civil servants.

The direct authority of Japan itself was represented by (1) the

[1] Kenneth S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, p. 583.
[2] F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
[3] *ibid.*
[4] *The Times, May 17, 1932.* Quoted in F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 25.
[5] T. A. Bisson, *Japan in China* (The Macmillan Company, New York 1938), p. 368.

Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army; (2) the Governor of the Kwantung Leased Territory, "who had civil jurisdiction in the territory, control of the police in the territory and in the Railway zone, and a measure of direction of the administration of the South Manchurian Railway" [1]; (3) the South Manchurian Railway, which had been in many ways "an agent of Japanese imperialism" [2] in Manchuria ever since its establishment in 1906; and (4) the consular agents, who exercised extraterritorial jurisdiction over Japanese subjects. In addition, an Ambassador was appointed on October 1, 1932 to represent Japan. Moreover, the combination of the three offices of Commander-in-Chief of the Kwantung Army, Governor of the Kwantung Leased Territory and Ambassador to Manchukuo in one person "had the effect of extending the authority of the Japanese Army itself over the civil advisers and administrators and thus over the government of Manchukuo." [3] In Tokyo there was set up the *Taiman Jimukokyu* or Manchurian Affairs Board, of which the Minister of War was the President, "thus ensuring military control of Manchurian policies." [4]

That Manchukuo was a mere puppet of the Japanese is also evident from the Protocol of Alliance, which was concluded on September 15, 1932 between the two countries, but "which had been drafted in Tokyo and approved by the Privy Council and the Emperor." [5] Japan formally recognised Manchukuo as an independent state "organised in accordance with the free will of its inhabitants", and Manchukuo agreed to respect all Japanese rights and interests within that territory acquired by virtue of Sino-Japanese treaties, agreements or other arrangements, whether public or private. Japan was further given the right to station whatever forces she deemed necessary in Manchukuo. Thus the fiction was proclaimed that Manchukuo was an independent state, while the Kwantung Army remained stationed in the country.

A thorough reorganization was effected in provincial and local governments. Manchuria was now divided into 19 provinces

[1] Harold M. Vinacke, *op. cit.*, p. 522.
[2] F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
[3] Harold M. Vinacke, *op. cit.*, p. 522.
[4] F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
[5] *ibid.*, p. 24.

besides the two special municipalities of Hsinking and Harbin, which existed until July 1937. The provinces were subdivided into *hsien* or prefectures, each headed by a prefect appointed and controlled by the provincial governor. The Japanese made no secret of the fact that these provincial and local administrions were "as thoroughly under the direction and control of Japanese 'advisers' as was the Central Government in Hsinking." [1]

The Japanese claimed to have provided Manchukuo with a modernized judicial, legal, and police system, but in reality the reforms had been devised by the Japanese and were an imposition upon Manchuria of Japanese legal and judicial concepts and methods. "They were part of the process of 'Nipponizing' Manchuria and of making it in reality part of the Japanese Empire. Furthermore, the law courts, police, and prisons in Manchuria were staffed by Japanese nationals to an even greater degree than was the case with other branches of the 'Manchukuo' administration, so that what happened in reality in 1937 was not the subjection of Japanese in Manchuria to a native Chinese jurisdiction, but rather the imposition of Japanese courts and police upon the whole Manchurian people." [2] Thus it is clear that the Manchukuo Government was essentially a Japanese one with a Chinese facade.

Since it was the policy of Japan to dominate Manchuria through a puppet régime, isolating it from the rest of China, the Japanese strove to foster a Manchurian national feeling to counterbalance the idea of the common nationality of all Chinese propagated by the Kuomintang. By naming the new state Manchukuo, by terming the inhabitants Manchurians and by selecting the last Manchu Emperor as her ostensible ruler, the Japanese endeavoured to win over the Manchu minority through an appeal to traditional sentiments and the memory of past glories, and to make them instruments of Japanese imperialism. They recruited Manchus for the administration.

In their treatment of other racial minorities – Mongols, Koreans, Muslims, and White Russians, the Japanese adopted the old Manchu policy of *divide et impera* in order to resist Chinese efforts to assimilate them, while at the same time

[1] *ibid.*, p. 28.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 32.

complete racial equality and harmony was proclaimed by choosing a five-coloured flag, which symbolised the five races. By a promise to the Mongols of local autonomy Japan hoped to secure their support in order to be "well placed to penetrate Inner Mongolia and eventually to undermine the Soviet position in Outer Mongolia. She would thus obtain great political and geographical advantages in the ultimate conflict with the U.S.S.R. which the Japanese warlords reckoned was only a matter of time. So Japan's Mongol policy was a vital part of her whole expansionist drive on the Asiatic Continent." [1] Instead of the Mongols being united politically into the Pan-Mongol Empire, of which some of them dreamed, they were divided to form four Hsingan (Mongol) provinces – east, west, north and south.

The Japanese made extensive use of the Koreans in Manchuria (who numbered some 800,000 in 1931), many of whom had acquired a fluent knowledge of Chinese. Organized Korean emigration to Manchuria was promoted particularly to offset the largely Chinese character of the population and to make the Koreans reliable agents of Japanese policy. An increase of the Korean population in Manchuria was also desired to enhance rice production. As a result, in August 1945 there were some 2 million Koreans or over 5 per cent of the total population of the state. [2]

The White Russians (30,322 in 1927) were "urged to believe that Japanese domination in Manchuria would put an end to the oppression from which they had suffered, and also that one day Japan would aid in the overthrow of the Soviet régime itself and in the restoration of the monarchy and of the Orthodox Church in Russia." [3] The Japanese control, however, brought little relief to these White Russians, and those who had hoped for Japanese action against the Soviet Union saw their hopes dashed by the conclusion of the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact of 1941.

The Japanese further endeavoured to use the Muslims in Manchuria, who were variously estimated at from about a

[1] *ibid.*, p. 61.
[2] *ibid*, p. 75–76.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 77.

quarter of a million to about two million, to spread pro-Japanese feelings among the Muslims in China and the Far East in general. A Manchukuo Islamic Society was organized in May 1939. This body sent delegates to an East Asia Islamic Conference held in Tokyo in September 1939.[1]

The establishment of the new régime was immediately followed by a thorough remodelling of the educational system so as to make it an instrument of propaganda on behalf of the new state. Most of the Chinese schools were closed. The Chinese universities and colleges also shared the same fate, as these were considered to be centres of nationalism and anti-Nipponism. On March 25, 1932 an ordinance was promulgated, in which it was stated that "in the curriculum of every school should be embodied the fundamental principle of Li Chiao or Confucianism, and any text-book containing any hint of political investigation should be abolished altogether."[2] The use of old text-books was thus eliminated. All anti-Japanese teachers were dismissed and their places filled by more pliable ones, who were given a three months' course in a teachers' training school opened in Hsinking in April 1933. Many Japanese were also appointed. This Japanese-dominated educational system was designed to inculcate into the rising generation loyalty to the new régime and a feeling of Manchukuo nationality, and to promote a belief in "the indivisible relationship of Japan and Manchukuo." Special attention was given to the teaching of Confucianism and the doctrines of *Wang Tao*, or the Kingly Way, which somewhat resembled the Japanese theory of *Kodo*, or the Imperial Way. "It suited the Japanese to retain and to promote the teachings of Confucianism and the concept of Wang Tao, in order to counteract the spread of republicanism, democracy, and Marxism, which threatened to disrupt the traditional basis of Oriental Society."[3]

Under the new system exclusive emphasis was laid on elementary education and vocational training. Vocational training was stressed in an effort to ensure a supply of recruits to the rapidly expanding industries of the new state, although the

[1] *ibid.*, p. 80.
[2] *S.M.R. Fourth Report on Progress in Manchuria, 1934*, pp. 227–8. Quoted in F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 46.
[3] F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

Japanese themselves held all the higher managerial posts as well as a good part of the subordinate ones. In 1938 there were 13,886 Primary schools, 108 Middle schools, 66 Vocational schools, 8 Colleges and 1 University. The Colleges were all agricultural, industrial or medical institutions. Japanese was made compulsory in all institutions above the lower primary grade. Manchu language was used as the medium of instruction in the lower primary schools. It may be said that the educational policy appeared "to have had some effect upon the susceptible minds of the younger children, as the Japanese calculated that it would." [1] The revival of Confucianist teachings was not unwelcome to the conservative elements among the Chinese. The propertied class also considered the Japanese control as the most effective bulwark against the danger of Communism.

Ever since the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1905, which gave the Land of the Rising Sun a firm footing in Manchuria, the Japanese statesmen had cherished the dream of colonising that country with large numbers of their countrymen, and this had been prompted by strategic, political and economic considerations, and was also regarded as a solution to the problem of surplus population at home. The establishment of the Manchukuo régime under the control of the Kwantung Army removed all Chinese opposition to Japanese immigration, and finding that the existing Japanese settlers, consisting mostly of ex-servicemen, had done useful work in the conquest of Manchuria, the Kwantung Army decided "to establish a series of strategic settlements somewhat on the model of the Roman coloniae", [2] with a view to Nipponize the frontier regions of Manchuria. Thus by 1936 there were 4,245 Japanese in the four Government-controlled military settlements, located at Yungfengchen, Hunanying (in eastern Manchuria), Sui Lang (north of Harbin) and another in eastern Sanchiang province.

Encouraged by the records of these pioneer settlements, semi-official concerns like the *To-A Kangyo*, or East Asia Industrial Development Company, and later the *Manshu Takushoku Kabushiki Kaisha*, or Manchuria Colonisation Company undertook the task of Japanese rural settlement in Manchuria.

[1] *ibid.*, p. 53.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 87.

In September 1937 the Manchuria Colonisation Company was replaced by a new organization, the *Manshu Takushoku Kosha*, or Manchuria Colonial Development Company. A grandiose scheme was prepared in June 1936 for the settlement of 5 million Japanese over a twenty-year period.

An initial five-year plan, which envisaged the settlement of 100,000 Japanese families in Manchukuo by the end of 1941, was incorporated in the first Manchukuo Five Year Industrial Development Plan, launched in 1937. Training colleges and institutes for preparing the selected colonists were set up in Japan. In November 1937 an organisation was also formed in Japan to inaugurate immigration into Manchuria of youths from sixteen to nineteen. With the declaration of the policy of a New Order in East Asia and of a Japan-Manchukuo-China political, ideological, and economic bloc, a Basic Outline of Colonisation Policy was promulgated in July 1939. The protracted conflict with China and the general preparations for war, however, proved serious obstacles to the carrying out of the scheme for colonisation. At the beginning of 1940 there were just over 68,000 Japanese colonists in Manchuria, which was far below the target set in 1936. [1]

That the state of Manchukuo was only meant to serve Japan's interests can be further illustrated by a study of the general economic policy, whose aim was not only "to strengthen the economic inter-dependent relations" [2] between the two countries but also "to build up in Manchukuo an economic and military base which will be as self-sufficient as possible." [3] Just as earlier agreements had provided that "Manchuria should submit, beforehand, all diplomatic and military matter to the Japanese government for thorough and unreserved deliberation," [4] an agreement was concluded on July 15, 1935 for the establishment of a Japanese-Manchukuo Joint Economic Committee, which would provide "co-operative measures in the economic field which plays a close and vital role in uniting the two countries." [5]

[1] *ibid.*, p. 94.

[2] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exhibit No. 850*, Record of Meeting of Privy Council, 3 July, 1935. Re: Conclusion of Agreement between Japan and Manchukuo on Establishment of a Joint Economic Committee.

[3] Quoted in Harold M. Vinacke, *op. cit.*, p. 530.

[4] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exhibit No. 850.*

[5] *ibid.*

This agreement shows the limited extent of the independence that Manchukuo enjoyed. The Joint Economic Committee, to which all questions were submitted before either government could take any action, was actually, if not in theory, dominated by the Japanese members. Moreover, economic problems of mutual interest, which could be handled directly by Japan, were left entirely out of the scope of this committee and were dealt with by "unilateral contracts binding only on the Manchukuo government." [1]

An important step towards an inseperable tie between the two countries was taken in November 1935 when the Yen Bloc was formally created, by which Manchukuo's currency was legally cut off from its silver basis and stabilised at par with the yen. "This action integrated the monies of the two countries, Japan and Manchukuo." [2] "Manchukuo became virtually a part of Japan's domestic market, since no foreign exchange transactions were required to carry on trade between the areas." [3]

As Manchuria is rich in mineral resources, raw materials and foodstuffs, and as her conquest was considered to be a further step towards the realization of Japanese hegemony in East Asia, the Manchurian authorities, under the control of the Kwantung Army, embarked upon a policy of planned economic development, so as to transform the country into a "continental war base." This economic policy, which might be called "Quasi war-time economy" (*Junsenji Keizai*), was defined on March 1, 1933 in the Economic Construction Programme, which provided, among other things, state control of industrialisation to conform to strategic necessities. Consequently, the South Manchurian Railway, which was "the first of the great semi-official companies organized to promote Japanese economic and political interests on the Asiatic continent" [4] and whose "capital was raised in 1933 to 800 million yen (half of which had been supplied by the Japanese government)", [5] remained during the period 1932–1937 the principal instrument of the industrialisation programme

[1] *ibid.*
[2] *Far East Mil. Trib. Proceedings*, p. 8,435.
[3] Harley F. Macnair & Donald F. Lach, *op. cit.*, p. 475.
[4] F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
[5] J. B. Cohen, *Japan's Economy in War and Reconstruction* (Univ. of Minnesota Press for the Institute of Pacific Relations, Minneapolis 1949), p. 38.

in Manchuria. The most important achievement of this Railway Company was the unification of the Manchurian railway system and its extension, which, while primarly strategic in design, made possible the intensive exploitation of the mineral and agricultural resources of the country. The railways of the former Chinese government and the Chinese Eastern, having been purchased from Russia, were brought in 1935 under the management of the South Manchurian Railway Company and thus merged with the existing Japanese railway system. The extension of the railway network resulted during 1932–1936 in a forty per cent increase in mileage. Communications were further improved by the construction of new highways and expansion of the telephone and telegraph systems.

In order to furnish a means of financing the planned development of Manchurian industry, the Industrial Bank of Manchuria was created in December 1936 and was originally capitalised at 60,000,000 yen but later increased to 100,000,000 yen. "The facilities offered by this Bank provided easy financing for preferred industries named by government policy which, after all, was Japanese dominated." [1]

Along with the economic exploitation of Manchuria there took place a significant development. The "young officer" group, which was opposed to "monopoly capitalism", sought to exclude the older *Zaibatsu* [2] from any direct participation in the economic activity of Manchuria, and encouraged the growth of what were termed *Shinko-Zaibatsu* (or New Zaibatsu). Their enterprises "were almost entirely confined to the iron, steel, light metal, and chemical industries, the very ones which the Army desired to foster. They, therefore, gave wholehearted support to the policy of militaristic expansion to which the Army was committed." [3] Of the new capital groups that grew in strength in consequence of this policy, the most important was the *Nippon Sangyo Kaisha*, popularly known as *Nissan*. When the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese conflict in July 1937 made it imperative for

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib. Proceedings*, p. 8,435.

[2] The term *Zaibatsu* means literally 'money-cliques', and is used to signify certain great Japanese business concerns with widespread interests. The four major *Zaibatsu* are Mitsui, Mitsubishi, Sumitomo and Yasuda. These groups played a vital role in the economic development of Japan.

[3] F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

the Kwantung Army to establish, in December 1937, the Manchuria Heavy Industry Company (*Mangyo*), half the capital was provided by *Nissan* and the remaining half by the Manchukuo Government, which transferred to *Mangyo* most of the state-controlled industrial enterprises. *Nissan* also obtained financial support from the special banks. [1]

By 1936 the foundations of the ambitious political and economic edifice had been successfully laid, and the way was felt clear for the adoption of the first Five-Year Plan of Industrial Development, similar to the Soviet Five-Year Plan. "The first five-year development plan for Manchuria, adopted in 1937, was a grandiose scheme for all-round development of Manchuria with special emphasis upon exploitation of natural resources and utilization of them in Manchuria in new war industries." [2] At the same time in May 1937 a Special Industries Control Law was promulgated, which specified twenty-one industries as coming within the sphere of strict governmental control. The general principle followed was that, to quote F. C. Jones, "each State-controlled or State-supervised concern should be responsible for one particular industry, while comprehensive planning and direction should be exercised by the General Affairs Board of the Manchukuo Government, in conjunction with the Economic Research Bureau of the S.M.R. and the Headquarters of the Kwantung Army, now located in Hsinking. Final decisions undoubtedly rested with the last-named body." [3] A second Manchurian Five-Year Plan was launched in 1942 "to stress the importance of Manchuria as a vital part of the key inner zone of defence."

Although adverse circumstances, such as the lack of adequate capital, materials and labour prevented the full execution of these plans, significant gains were made. In 1944 alone "there was a probable production of 25 to 30 million tons of coal, 3 million tons of pig iron and 1.5 million tons of steel ingots." [4] The production of electric power, one of the prerequisites for industrial progress, reached about three million KW. in 1944–45. [5] In view

[1] G. C. Allen, *A Short Economic History of Modern Japan* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, Third Impression 1951), p. 149.

[2] J. B. Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[3] F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

[4] *ibid.*, p. 154.

[5] *ibid.*, p. 158.

of Japan's paucity in oil reserves the exploitation of oil from the shale beds at Fushun was increased. The Japanese also expended considerable energy and capital in the exploitation of other minerals. Gold production occupied an important place in the first Five-Year Plan. Emphasis was laid on the utilization of alumina shale and fire-clay deposits owing to the lack of bauxite in the Inner Zone. Every effort was made to increase the production of aluminium for the aircraft industry. Manchuria possesses one of the world's richest deposits of magnesite, and a number of companies participated in the extraction and refining of this material. The Japanese were equally active in mining the lead, zinc, and copper deposits. It is believed that in 1944 the figures of production rose to approximately 25,000 tons of lead, 20,000 tons of zinc, and 4,000 tons of copper. [1]

Although Japan mainly devoted her attention to developing Manchuria as an important supplier of minerals and metals to Japanese manufacturing industries in her homeland, the period of her domination also witnessed a remarkable development in manufacturing, particularly in the chemical, metal and machinery industries in Manchuria itself. The manufacture of munitions and aircraft for war purposes received priority. A large scale cotton manufacturing industry was also developed. In 1939 there were eleven large cotton mills in Manchuria.

This rapid industrialisation was made possible by the large amount of Japanese capital, which "had the effect of making Manchukuo the exclusive field for Japanese overseas investment." [2] "Japanese capital investment in Manchuria, which had totaled 1.2 billion yen during the five years 1932–36, amounted to 4.3 billion yen during the five years 1937–41. By the end of 1941, the Japanese had poured 7.2 billion yen into Manchuria in an unparalleled decade-long attempt to transform an agricultural land into an industrial arsenal." [3]

In their agrarian policy in Manchuria, the Japanese were also motivated by the idea of promoting the quasi-war-time economy and of furthering the development of the Japan-Manchukuo bloc as a unit self-contained in raw materials useful for war purposes.

[1] *ibid.*, p. 162.
[2] Harold M. Vinacke, *op. cit.*, p. 530.
[3] J. B. Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

The production of soya beans, the principal Manchurian cash crop and export commodity, declined; whereas attention was devoted to the development of special crops, such as cotton, rice, beet sugar, oats, barley, kenafe (Manchurian hemp) and flax, as well as perilla and castor-beans for lubricating oil. The increase of cotton planting and cotton production was given high priority by the Manchukuo authorities, who, in 1933, prepared an ambitious Twenty-Year Plan for the expansion of the cotton area to 735,000 acres, and of production to 150 million kin (1 kin = 1.32 lb.). [1] The net result of the various attempts was that " the production of cotton in Manchuria for the modern cotton textile industry was scarcely beyond the experimental stage in 1937." [2] The same situation existed with regard to rice and wheat output. Manchuria in 1937 was not entirely self-sufficient in rice, much less an exporter of any significance. Wheat production, which was about 1,000,000 metric tons in 1935, fell to 964,000 metric tons in 1938 and to 949,000 in 1939. Of the other specialized crops, the output of beet sugar expanded rapidly and was said to have reached 241,000 metric tons in 1939. The yield of tobacco had increased from 4,000 to 14,000 metric tons during 1935–39, and of flax from 5,800 to 48,000 metric tons during the same period. The production of castor bean amounted to 20,600 metric tons in 1939, and that of perilla, hempseed, and sesamum, all oil-bearing seeds, totalled 136,000 metric tons in the same year. [3] Many futile attempts were made by the monopolistic official purchasing agencies, such as the Manchuria Cereals Corporation, organised in 1938 to control the purchase and distribution of wheat, flour and rice, and the Manchurian Staple Purchase Corporation, which performed similar functions for soya bean, bean cake, and bean oil, to reach the desired goal. To remedy the situation new laws in October 1940 extended the official control over all the organs for the collection, marketing and distribution of farm products. In the autumn of the same year a ten-year plan for food production in East Asia was launched under which the Manchurian exports of food and fertilizers were to supply the deficiencies

[1] F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 176.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 178.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 180.

of the rest of East Asia. The food production campaign was intensified with the outbreak of the Pacific war in December 1941. Despite the introduction of a quota system for the production of specified crops, assigned to specified localities, the results were not specially impressive during 1940–1943. The last years of the war were, however, "marked by improvement, the 1945 harvests were said to have been exceptionally good, and there seems to have been no food shortage in the country as a whole." [1]

Japan proceeded with caution in dealing with foreign rights and interests in Manchukuo in order not to inflame foreign animosity further. But the whole economic policy of the Manchukuo régime under Japanese control had the effect of ousting foreign influence from the country. The conclusion of the Japan-Manchukuo Protocol of Alliance on September 15, 1932 was accompanied by the announcement of the formal severance of all ties with China, which was henceforth to be treated as a foreign state in commercial and tariff matters. [2] The principle of the Open Door, or the equality of commercial opportunity for all nations was professed to be the policy of the new state, since the Japanese masters of Manchukuo hoped to get foreign recognition for their creation. But the trade regulations and tariff schedules that were devised to encourage the inflow of Japanese capital goods and to discourage luxury imports, in pursuance with the Kwantung Army's aim of promoting industrialisation for war purposes, practically compelled the foreign powers to withdraw from Manchukuo. The Emergency Trade Control Law of August 15, 1936, the Foreign Trade Control Law of December 9, 1937, the Revised Exchange Control Law of October 8, 1937, and the Provisional Capital Control Law of 1938 were all designed to further the creation of a Japan-Manchukuo economic bloc.

The institution of monopolies, in which only Manchurians and Japanese could participate, resulted in the complete withdrawal of many American, British and German firms and financial houses from Manchuria. Thus the Oil Monopoly Law of November 14, 1934 gave the Manchukuo Government a

[1] *ibid.*, p. 183.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 191.

monopoly of retail distribution of petroleum products, and empowered it to establish quota control of production, refining and import. This "could only result in the driving out of the foreign companies which had been doing an extensive business in Manchuria, and some of which had built up elaborate sales organizations." [1] Foreign protests were blandly ignored. Foreign concerns, like the British Jardine Engineering Company, the Czech Skoda Steel Works, the German Siemens Schuckert Company and the American firm of Andersen, Meyer and Company, found it necessary to close their business in Manchuria. The elimination of Russian interests, represented by the Chinese Eastern Railway, from Northern Manchuria, was achieved by the Agreement of March 23, 1935, which effected the sale by Russia of that Railway to Manchukuo. Another significant step in the direction of excluding foreign influence was taken on November 5, 1937 when Japan apparently relinquished her extraterritorial rights in Manchuria, and in announcing this agreement it was explained that as an independent state, Manchukuo was not bound by the foreign extraterritorial treaties with China, "consequently foreigners were deprived of their special rights and made amenable to 'Manchukuo' laws and law courts, which meant in reality that they were subjected to Japanese jurisdiction." [2] One important consequence of this was to subject foreigners to local taxation and increase Japanese control over foreign educational and missionary institutions.

Japan's domination over Manchuria produced a marked change in Manchurian external trade. Increased imports from Japan completely altered the position in her trade with that country. "While in 1932 Japan had an adverse balance of 26 million yuan in her trade with Manchuria, in 1936 she sold to Manchukuo 270 million more than she bought." [3] With the creation of the yen bloc in 1935, trade between the two countries became in a sense internal trade. This fact became more pronounced with the outbreak of the Pacific War when Manchurian trade was practically confined to the yen bloc. The expansion of war-time controls and the abolition, in 1944, of customs

[1] Harold M. Vinacke, *op. cit.*, p. 523.
[2] F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
[3] Harold M. Vinacke, *op. cit.*, p. 532.

duties in Japan-Manchukuo trade relations "completed the amalgamation of the Japanese and Manchurian economies." [1] It meant the disappearance of the state of Manchukuo as an independent entity.

This review of Japanese policy makes it abundantly clear that whereas in theory the state of Manchukuo was independent and sovereign, in reality it was a vassal state controlled by Japan, which designed to transform it into a "continental war base" for further expansion. As the Emperor of Manchukuo, Henry P'u yi attempted to justify at the Tokyo War Crimes Trials in the following words: "On paper, in order to fool the people of the world, Manchukuo was made to look like an independent state but in fact it was administered by the Kwantung Army. Nominally there were Ministers and Vice-Ministers in charge of the various departments of the government. Practically every one of the Vice-Ministers was a Japanese. Ministers were Chinese. On the surface the Chinese were put in charge, but underneath the Japanese ran the show. There was a Fourth Section in the Kwantung Army in control of Manchurian affairs. All ordinances and enactments would be proffered by the Vice-Ministers who were all Japanese, and then all had to be approved by the Kwantung Army." [2] It was this form of government which Japan wanted to establish in the conquered territories, except in the less-developed areas, such as New Guinea, during the Second World War. Tojo in his statement to the Tokyo War Crimes Trials substantiates this view: "We hoped for the establishment of governments which would be in accordance with the desires of the inhabitants, as was the government of Manchukuo, in line with our East Asia policy. We also hoped to see these governments independent as was that of Manchukuo and co-operate with them on the basis of their being members of the East Asia community and of mutual life and prosperity." [3]

[1] F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[2] Testimony of Henry P'u Yi at Tokyo Mil. Trib., August 16–27, 1946, in *SCAP Summation No. 11*, August 1946, pp. 55–56. Quoted in J. B. Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 38. *Far East Mil. Trib. Proceedings*, pp. 3, 992–3, 993.

[3] *Far East Mil. Trib. Proceedings*, p. 36,775.

CHAPTER V

INTERNAL PREPARATIONS FOR FURTHER EXPANSION (1931–1936)

To grasp the implications of the Japanese blueprint (1937–1941) it is necessary to examine the internal preparations which followed the Manchurian Incident of September 18, 1931.

It seems that the World Economic Depression of 1929 that particularly hit Japan with its full force was the fortuitous moment to the Militarists who were anxiously waiting to realise their dreams of power. The country was in the throes of vast social unrest, resulting from serious economic dislocation. "The feeling of instability among the people and their bitter hatred toward internal politics, dominated by conniving senior statesmen, *zaibatsu* and political parties, had reached its zenith." [1] The signing of the London Naval Treaty of 1930, which extended limitations to cruisers and destroyers, as well as capital ships, further provided an occasion for expressing "the indignation of the people towards the corruption of party politics during the period from 1925 to 1930." [2]

This "restless temper of the times" [3] offered a golden opportunity for the Militarists, especially the young officers of the Army and Navy, who had been fretting at the "humiliations" imposed upon Japan as a Power at Washington in 1921–1922 and at the London Naval Conference in 1930, to exploit the situation to their own advantage. They "wished to prepare the stage for a military government and drastically purge all liberals in influential positions in the government and business. In their

[1] Yoshio Kodama, *I Was Defeated* (Robert Booth & Taro Fukuda, Japan 1951), p. 21.

[2] *ibid.*, p. 48.

[3] T. Kase, *Journey to the Missouri* (Yale University Press, New Haven 1950), p. 27.

view all the ills of the times were attributable to the corrupt practices of the political parties and to monopolistic exploitation by capitalists. They therefore wanted to put an end to parliamentary government and severely curtail the capitalistic enterprises. They had accepted the theories of state socialism and verged on communism." [1] They organized a series of plots and assassinations in order to overthrow the government and secure drastic reforms. Premier Hamaguchi was shot in November 1930. In 1931 alone two serious coups – the March Incident and the October Incident [2] – were made in vain to seize power. After the failure of the March Incident the Militarists engineered the Manchurian Incident of September 18, 1931, as they thought "an armed intervention on the continent would provide an ideal opportunity for them to seize power and institute reforms. Conquest abroad and totalitarian economy at home were inseparable in their minds." [3]

The Manchurian Incident was, however, followed by the October Incident at home, which although it proved abortive, had important consequences, and marked the beginning of military ascendancy in Japan. As Kodama remarks: "The October Incident (*Kinki Kakumei* Incident), which arose as a domestic issue, dealt a big blow to the *genro* (elder statesmen), the senior statesmen, the *zaibatsu* and the political parties and served to silence completely the opposition and the criticism of elder and senior statesmen and political parties against the Manchurian Incident and its prosecution. In addition, the dissatisfaction of the nation over domestic politics, which had been daily increasing as a result of the London Naval Treaty, served to swing the nation over to an unconditional support of the advocacies of the militarists in their prosecution of the war on the continent." [4] The Militarists further attempted to strengthen their hold on the government by assassinating, on February 9, 1932, Inouye, a former Finance Minister, who "had strenuously opposed the Manchurian adventure." [5], and again, on May 15, 1932, Premier Inukai, a moderate. Thus after

[1] *ibid.*, p. 28.
[2] For details see T. Kase, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
[3] T. Kase, *ibid.*, p. 27.
[4] Yoshio Kodama, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[5] T. Kase, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

the Manchurian Incident "the real power gradually became vested in a group of fiery officers who asserted themselves during the following decade as the driving force of a reckless expansionist policy." [1]

The control of political power by the Militarists was at the same time marked by a rapid transformation of the country's economy, which would make Japan an industrial power, strong enough to sustain a policy of expansion. The growing influence of the Militarists in the economy of Japan can be seen from the military expenditures which were sharply increasing. The total Army and Navy budget, which was 434 million yen or 29.4 per cent of total expenditures in 1931, rose to 3,953 million yen or 71.6 per cent of total expenditures in 1937. The economic expansion under the Militarists reflected itself in the increasing predominance of heavy industries. Light industry, which had constituted 61.8 per cent of total industrial output in 1930, had by 1937 shrunk to 42.2 per cent of the total, whereas heavy industry, which had accounted for 38.2 per cent of total industrial production in 1930, had by 1937 reached 57.8 per cent of the total. In 1930 Japan produced only a small number of motor vehicles annually – in all 500 – and 400 planes. By 1941 these figures had increased to 48,000 and 5,000 respectively. Steel production tripled, and coal production doubled in the same period. In 1931 the production of merchant vessels was 92,093 gross tons. This had increased to 405,195 gross tons in 1937, making the mercantile fleet at that time the third largest in the world. It is interesting to note that the industrial production of Japan during 1929–39 exceeded that of the United States with her infinitely more powerful industrial organisation. [2]

This progressive expansion of industrial capacity would not have been possible by private enterprise alone. Direct measures had to be taken and capital had to be provided by the government. The inevitable consequence of this was to force the Japanese industry along the direction of state planning in the lines followed in Manchukuo.

The Militarists were not, however, satisfied with their gradual political and economic control of the country. Simultaneously,

[1] *ibid.*, p. 27.
[2] J. B. Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 1–5.

they made a determined effort to exploit "the tense atmosphere of nationalism engendered by the Manchurian Incident", [1] so that the whole nation might acquiesce in their "ideology of expansion." The principle of *Kodo*, the Imperial Way, was expounded to signify the new political spirit in Japan. "This was the concept of a totalitarian and divine state of which a divine emperor following the Imperial Way was the living embodiment. The instrument of this revival of divine dictatorship was .... the military caste, not an individual." [2] The aim behind this philosophy was clearly expressed in a speech of General Araki, Minister of War (1931–1934) and "the spiritual leader and the politico-ethical spokesman of a new Japan", [3] made in March 1933: "It is a veritable measure of Providence that the Manchurian trouble has arisen – it is an alarm-bell for the awakening of the Japanese people. If the nation is rekindled with the same great spirit in which the country was founded, the time will come when all the nations of the world will be made to look up to our Kodo. Kodo, the great ideal of the Japanese nation, is of such substance that it should be spread and expanded all over the world, and every impediment to it brushed aside – even by the sword." [4] Thus *Kodo* was obviously meant to assert the superiority of the Japanese race under the divine emperor. In 1935 the theory that the emperor was an organ of the state and not the state itself, held by Professor T. Minobe of the Imperial University of Tokyo, was declared to be a pernicious doctrine, and he was condemned.

Special attention was devoted to win the youth of the nation to the Militarists' ideology. Education was given a nationalist and authoritarian complexion. The bureau of student control (1929) was replaced by the bureau of "thought control" (1933). Young Men's Associations (*Nippon Seinendan*) were formed throughout the country to foster and spread the national spirit. Patriotic Societies like the Ex-Service Men's Association (*Zaigo Gunjinkai*), the Imperial League of Young Officers (*Kokoku Seinen Shoko Domei*), and the Black Ocean Society (*Genyosha*)

[1] Yoshio Kodama, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
[2] P. H. Clyde, *op. cit.*, p. 602.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 605.
[4] *The Japanese Weekly Chronicle, May 16, 1933.* Quoted in J. Hampden Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 302–303.

"took a special interest in training the youth of the nation, and supported militarism with vehemence." [1] Besides, there were a number of secret societies, such as the notorious Black Dragon with ultra-nationalistic programmes. These societies, which had the backing of a large part of the Army and some officers of the Navy, were "the prime movers of an aggressive imperialism striving for world conquest." [2] It is said that Mitsuru Toyama, who was the leader of the Black Dragon Society and who was "looked upon by a large section of the public, including the military, as a sort of superpatriot" [3], was mainly responsible for the political assassinations of this period.

While Nipponese warlords were thus consolidating their position within Japan, the Army continued to pursue its "positive" policy in the mainland of Asia. The conquest of Manchuria, which was to be "the first step if the Yamato race wishes to distinguish themselves on Continental Asia" [4] and which was now successfully achieved in violation of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the Pact of Paris of 1928, and the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922, further emboldened the Japanese. Japan's response to the recommendations of the Lytton Commission, appointed by the League of Nations, was the invasion of Jehol in January 1933 to be added to Manchukuo. As Great Britain and the United States, which were regarded since the Washington Conference of 1921–22 as an insuperable obstacle to the realisation of her dream of world empire, were now in the grip of an unprecedented economic depression, accompanied by grave political unrest, she announced on March 27, 1933 her intention to withdraw from the League of Nations, "deliberately choosing a path of isolation." [5] As Kase says: "This was against the wish of the Emperor, who preferred to maintain co-operation with the democratic powers and in particular with Great Britain and the United States." [6] The result was that her relations with these powers steadily deteriorated due mainly to the growing conflict of interest over Manchuria and China. "This naturally resulted",

[1] P. H. Clyde, *op. cit.*, p. 606.
[2] Kurt London, *op. cit.*, p. 205.
[3] Joseph C. Grew, *Ten Years in Japan* (Hammond, Hammond & Company Limited, London 1944), p. 69.
[4] Quoted in *Japan's Dream of World Empire. The Tanaka Memorial*, p. 33.
[5] T. Kase, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
[6] *ibid.*

states Kase, "in hostility towards these powers among our people, who suspected them of willfully obstructing the fulfillment of our national destiny." [1] This feeling was quickly and fully exploited by the Militarists. "Subtle propaganda was intensified to discredit the liberal leaders friendly towards the democratic powers." [2] This development coincided with the utter failure of the League of Nations as well as the Western Powers to impede the Japanese advance, the United States' attitude of "non-recognition of Manchukuo", Russia's apparent indifference in the Far East, and above all, the menacing rise of Hitler in Europe, diverting the Western Powers from their Far Eastern interests and resulting in Germany's withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference and later from the League on October 14, 1933.

Time was now ripe for Japan to assert her position as the predominant power in Eastern Asia. In the spring of 1934 she proclaimed what came to be known as the Japanese "Monroe Doctrine for Eastern Asia" in a series of official speeches and semi-official communiqués. Already, on January 22, 1934, Foreign Minister Hirota, while reviewing Japan's foreign relations before the Diet, had emphasised Japan's special responsibility and "mission" for the preservation of peace in Eastern Asia. After referring to the confused situation in China, he expressed the hope that she would unite with Japan in their "obvious mission" to contribute to the peaceful development of East Asia. Hirota concluded his speech by remarking: "We should not for a moment forget that Japan, serving as the only corner-stone for the edifice of the peace of Eastern Asia, bears the entire burden of responsibility"; and he expressed his conviction that "eventually this position .... will be rightly understood by the other Powers." [3]

Hirota's view was made explicitly clear by a further statement issued on April 17, 1934 by Amau, Foreign Office spokesman. This statement, after referring to Japan's "special responsibilities in East Asia", declared emphatically that the Japanese

[1] *ibid.*
[2] *ibid.*
[3] Quoted in A. J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs 1934* (Oxford Univ. Press, London 1935), p. 646.

"consider it only natural that to keep peace and order in East Asia we must even act alone on our own responsibility, and it is our duty to perform it. At the same time there is no country but China which is in a position to share with Japan the responsibility for maintenance of peace in East Asia."

"We oppose," continued the statement, "any attempt on the part of China to avail herself of the influence of any other country in order to resist Japan; we also oppose any action taken by China calculated to play [off] one Power against another. Any joint operations undertaken by foreign Powers even in the name of technical or financial assistance .... are bound to acquire political significance .... Japan therefore must object to such undertakings as a matter of principle .... Supplying China with war aeroplanes, building aerodromes in China, and detailing military instructors or military advisers to China or contracting a loan to provide funds for political uses would obviously tend to alienate friendly relations between Japan, China and other countries and to disturb peace and order in Eastern Asia. Japan will oppose such projects." [1]

It is clear from this enunciation of Japanese policy that she was intent upon extending her domination over the whole of China. The declaration was obviously intended to serve as a warning not only to China, which was receiving outside aid but also to other Powers, which were now definitely asked to desist from giving any assistance to China that would enable her to stand against Japan. Thus Japan "delicately introduced to Occidental minds – American as well as European" [2] the "unpalatable notion" of a Japanese "Monroe Doctrine for Eastern Asia."

As the first practical step towards the implementation of this policy Japan, in December 1934, served notification of abrogating the Washington Naval Treaty of 1922, making herself free to resume naval building. By 1935 her Army was attempting to create a five-province autonomous North China, comprising Chahar, Suiyan, Shansi, Hopei, and Shantung. In January 1936, she withdrew, on refusal of her demand for a common upper limit, or parity with the United States and Great Britain, from

[1] *ibid.*, pp. 650–651.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 628.

the London Conference for Naval Disarmament, and dealt a blow to the whole structure of international naval co-operation so painstakingly erected since 1922.

The year 1936, however, opened with an important event at home, which shaped her history for the next decade. On February 26, 1936, only four days after the announcement of the general election returns, which indicated the popularity and the influence of the liberals, the Militarists organized an uprising and killed Takahashi, the moderate Finance Minister, Admiral Saito, then Lord Privy Seal, and General Watanabe, Inspector General of military training. Premier Okada escaped, but one of his relatives, who resembled him, was murdered. The result was that it "sealed the fate of liberal government in Japan. It completely stifled any effective opposition to the Army."[1] The Militarists were now in full control of the government and began to guide Japan's destiny.

Once saddled with power, the Militarists began to dream not only to extend the conquest to China Proper but also to "develop the Japanese Empire in the South Seas." The international political conditions appeared to them favorable for realising such a dream. Europe was in turmoil. Germany had repudiated the disarmament clauses of the Versailles Treaty and had announced her intention to rearm in March 1935. One year later, on March 7, 1936 she had renounced the Locarno Pact by marching troops into the Rhineland. In July 1936 civil war broke out in Spain. The League had ceased to be an instrument of peace, following the collapse of the sanctions experiment against Italy for her conquest of Abyssinia. The Western Powers were too much involved in European affairs to direct their attention to the Far East. In the Western Hemisphere public opinion in the United States since 1933 had been insisting on the relinquishment rather than the strengthening of American outposts in the Western Pacific – a fact clearly expressed by the passing of the Philippine Independence Act of March 1934 and the Neutrality Act of 1935. The Navy thought that it was time also for taking steps for Japan's further expansion towards the South, where lay vast colonial possessions of the Western Powers, but which were being transformed into a closed area for Japan's

[1] T. Kase, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

trade and commerce by Ottawa Agreements, high tariffs, quotas and other instruments of economic nationalism, following the failure of the World Economic Conference of 1933. It was in these circumstances that during the summer of 1936 the War and Navy ministries proposed certain "basic" principles of Japan's foreign policy, which were formulated in the "Fundamental Principle of Our National Policy" and finally accepted on August 11, 1936 by the Five Ministers' Conference, including the Premier and the War, Navy, Foreign, and Finance ministers as the programme of new Japan. This fundamental policy, which was not disclosed until a few years later, aimed at developing, through the efforts of "national defense" and diplomacy, "the Japanese Empire .... into the stabilisation Power .... in East Asia, in order to achieve a strong footing in the Eastern continent as well as develop the Japanese Empire in the South Seas."

It was decided: (1) Japan must correct the aggressive policies of the great powers and realise the spirit of the Imperial Way (*Kodo*) by a consistent policy of overseas expansion; (2) Japan should complete her national defense and armament to secure the position of the Empire as the stabilising power in East Asia; (3) Japan should strive to eradicate the Russian menace on the North in order to realize a steadfast development of Manchuria, and for the solid defense of both Japan and Manchuria. Japan should also be prepared against Great Britain and the United States, attempting at the same time an economic development by the close co-operation of Japan, China and Manchuria. "For the achievement of such an object", Japan "should always be careful to hold most amicable relations with the Powers."

It was further decided that "for the furtherance of our plan to achieve racial and economic development of our Empire towards the South Seas, especially on the Outer South Sea Islands area, we should take a gradual and peaceful measure, always avoiding to stimulate other nations and try to fulfil our national strength correlative with the completion of Manchuria." The South Seas Area had been described as "a key point of the world commerce, and, as it is the sphere necessary and indispensable in the industries and national defense of our people, we must secure our footsteps for further advance."[1]

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exhibit No.* 979; *Timetable No.* 6 (the "Timetable" prepared

With the decision of August 11, 1936 there opened a new chapter in the history of Japan's policy of expansion. The successful implementation of such a policy necessitated a strong and powerful Japan. At home she now adopted the policy of military economics – greater military expenditures and more strict regimentation of economic life, based on the theory of "wartime controlled economy."[1] More rapid expansion of armament industries followed. The Manchurian Affairs Bureau, which had been established earlier, adopted the First Manchurian Five Year Industrial Plan on January 1, 1937. The Cabinet Planning Board was established on May 14, 1937 to serve as an agency, which would stimulate industrial mobilisation, economic planning and control. Henceforth, an attempt was to be made to reduce the *Zaibatsu* from "makers of policy to instruments of policy."

At the same time an intensive campaign was carried on to impress on the nation the necessity for a policy of expansion abroad. "Japanese literature was steadily harnessed to the conception of 'Japan's destiny,' and skilful use was made of the glittering prospect of domination over an area extending from the Arctic to Australia, and from Tokyo to Bombay."[2] In 1937 *Addresses to Young Men* by Hashimoto, obviously meant for the youth of Japan as the title of the book suggests, was published. This book demonstrated the necessity of expansion for Japan to the North, South, East and West, and propagated the superiority of the Japanese over the White race. It says: "Countries, developed by Japan, and peoples, governed by such a superior race as the Japanese, are fortunate, compared with those who live under the tyrannical power of the Whites."[3]

The Militarists further consolidated their position by modifying existing regulations, so that ministers of the Army and Navy could be appointed only from among the generals and admirals on active service. As Kase remarks: "The Military's hold on the government was now complete: they could make or un-

by the Neth. Division, Inter. Prosecution Section of the Inter. Mil. Trib. for the Far East, on the basis of Japanese archives. This is referred to as the "Timetable").

[1] "The Japanese call the period, February, 1936 – June, 1937, by the term *Junsenji Keizai* or quasi-war-time economy". – Jerome B. Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[2] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exhibit no.* 1290 A; *Timetable no.* 7.

[3] George W. Keeton, *op. cit.*, pp. 189–190.

make a cabinet at their pleasure by withdrawing, or refusing to nominate, the service minister." [1]

Abroad, Japan now favoured a policy which embraced plans for an understanding with the Axis Powers of Europe, the aim of which was not only to tame the Soviet Union's growing "arrogance" in the Far East but also to discourage the Western Democracies to interfere with her expansionist programme in Eastern Asia as well as the South Seas regions. This culminated in the signing of the Anti-Comintern Pact on November 25, 1936 with Germany. Italy joined a year later, followed by Hungary, Manchukuo, and Franco's Spain. On November 28, 1936 both Japan and Italy agreed to reciprocal recognition of the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo and the Italian conquest of Abyssinia. Thus, as the year 1937 dawned, Japan's preparations appeared to be well on their way and she was about to resume her career of expansion in Eastern Asia.

[1] T. Kase, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

CHAPTER VI

JAPANESE BLUEPRINT (1937–1941)

The year 1937, "in which fascism and nazism became bolder in their verbal and diplomatic attacks upon democracy, communism, the territorial *status quo*, and the system of collective security as represented by the League of Nations", [1] seemed to offer a determined effort to inaugurate the establishment of Japanese hegemony in Eastern Asia. The incident at the Marco Polo Bridge on the outskirts of Peiping on July 7, 1937 provided the Land of the Rising Sun with the pretext to set off against China a full-scale war, which was regarded as "a natural consequence of fixed national policy calling for establishment of a solid footing on the continent." [2] Japan decided to strike before the Kuomintang-Communist Alliance, following the Sian kidnapping episode of December 1936, could be developed into an effective united front against her.

The preparative moves for waging such a war had already been taken during the preceding decade. Japan now bluntly rejected the invitation to attend the Brussels Conference of the signatories to the Nine-Power Treaty of 1922, held in November 1937 to discuss the China Incident, and described her action in China as self-defence. She thus "smashed what was left of the Nine-Power Treaty", [3] although it was not formally denounced. The lessons provided by the failure of the Powers to adopt any coercive measures against her at the Brussels Conference, which had been preceded by their policy of Non-Intervention in the Spanish Civil War, the Neutrality Legislation of the years 1935–

[1] P. H. Clyde, *op. cit.*, p. 658.
[2] Joseph W. Ballantine, "Mukden to Pearl Harbor. The Foreign Policies of Japan", *Foreign Affairs, July 1949*, p. 654.
[3] Herbert Feis, *The Road to Pearl Harbor* (Princeton Univ. Press, New Jersey 1950), p. 9.

1937, eloquently expressing the United States' "prevalent aversion to foreign involvement and the determined opposition to any form of political or military commitment", [1] and finally, the policy of appeasement of the Western Powers towards the Axis, which later culminated in the Munich settlement on September 29, 1938, had undoubtedly the effect of encouraging Japan to adopt an increasingly defiant attitude. The absence of any alliance between the Western Powers left them vulnerable against the Axis, and this implied that none would commit itself to war against Japan in the Far East, so long as the European situation remained threatening, especially when the lack of preparedness of the Western Democracies was well known. Thus while the war in China dragged on, she proceeded to convince the Powers of the need of a tacit acceptance of a new Japanese order in Eastern Asia in place of the old international one.

On November 3, 1938 the Japanese government (the first Konoye Cabinet) officially declared that "the ultimate aim of Imperial Japan is to establish a New Order, which will secure eternal peace in the Far East." [2] The main feature of this New Order would be "the creation of a tripartite *bloc*, comprising Japan, Manchukuo and China, which was to be brought into existence for mutual aid and co-operation in political, economic, cultural and other fields. The *bloc* was to serve as a defence against Communism, as the field for 'a new culture', and as a means of procuring 'close economic cohesion throughout East Asia'." [3] The other Powers were admonished "to appreciate correctly Japan's aims and policy and to adopt their attitude to the new conditions existing in East Asia." [4] What actually prompted Japan to seek for a New Order in East Asia was clearly brought out by the correspondent of *The Times*, who observed: "The driving force that impels the Japanese to build a self-sustaining *bloc* in East Asia is the realization that, as the World is organized, they are at the mercy of distant countries. In an East Asian *bloc* Japan hopes to acquire the security which

[1] W. L. Langer & S. E. Gleason, *The Challenge to Isolation 1937–1940* (Royal Institute of Int. Affairs, London 1952), p. 14.

[2] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1291; *Timetable No.* 10.

[3] A. J. Toynbee, *Survey of International Affairs 1938, Vol. I* (Oxford Univ. Press London 1941), p. 498.

[4] Quoted in *Survey of International Affairs 1938, Vol I*, p. 496.

the British Empire and the United States enjoy .... They (the Japanese) want raw materials which can be bought with their own curreney at prices that they can afford to pay. They want markets which embargoes, tariffs, or sanctions cannot close to their trade .... They ask, therefore, for Chinese Governments willing to accept Japanese hegemony, courteously veiled as co-operation." [1]

The realization of this goal, however, demanded a speedy settlement of the China Incident. But as "the China affair could not be settled either by war or by diplomacy between Tokyo and Chungking" [2] and the Japanese army had been "marching into wilderness, fighting against unlimited space" [3], the idea of solving the affair by developing the Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936 into a full-blown political and military alliance turned into a serious project in the summer of 1938. As Kase remarks, "A solution must be sought by indirect means, that is to say, through an alliance with Germany." [4] In spite of the Anti-Comintern Pact, Germany at first did not approve of Japan's forward policy in China, since she feared that China would "drift farther and farther into the Russian orbit." [5] For years Japan had enjoyed Italy's full moral support for her adventures in Manchuria and China. Since 1933, however, Germany had clung tight to her East Asian interests and had even attempted to extend them. Berlin had not immediately responded to Japan's request for recognition of the vassal state of Manchukuo – it had, to the contrary, made economic demands. Germany had an influence in the Kuomintang Government in China, whose army leaders had German officers as advisers. General von Falkenhausen was one of them and the Japanese ascribed every setback suffered by their troops in China to him and his colleagues. It was only when Hitler started his pressure against Czechoslovakia and began to figure with the immediate outbreak of a large-scale war that he ordered German military

[1] *The Times*, February 16,1939. Quoted in *Survey of International Affairs 1938, Vol. I*, p. 501.

[2] T. Kase, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[3] *ibid.*

[4] *ibid.*

[5] *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918–1945* (From the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry), *Series D(1937–1945), Vol. I* (His Majesty's Stationary Office, London 1949), p. 827.

advisers to be recalled from China and the delivery of arms to Chiang Kai-shek to cease. [1] Alarmed at the inclination which Berlin had shown to retain its former rights and interests, the Imperial Government at Tokyo privately ventured an attempt to render legally impossible any eventual claims to the South Sea islands lost by Germany in the War of 1914–1918. A formal offer was made for the return of these islands to Germany and then immediately afterwards Japan was to buy them.

Hitler rejected this proposal also. [2] In the summer of 1938 when the military stalemate in China prompted the leaders of the Japanese Army to renew the suggestion of developing the Anti-Comintern Pact into a triple alliance, Germany welcomed the idea as it was well suited to "Hitler's grand design for isolating Russia, for neutralising Great Britain and France, and for forestalling American interference on behalf of the democracies."[3] Germany desired a pact that would apply equally against Russia and against both the United States and Great Britain. An agreement, however, could not be reached owing to the conflict within the Japanese Government. "The Army resorted to all sorts of intrigues in order to drag the government into a full military alliance aimed at England and the United States as well as the Soviet Union." [4] "The Imperial Court and the Navy, as well as several high civilian officials, were opposed to anything that might estrange or provoke Britain and the United States" [5] but were only willing to accept the principle of mutual aid in the event of a war with the Soviet Union. Japan's endeavour to solve the China Incident "by indirect means" received a further setback when Germany, to the great surprise of Japan, abruptly concluded a ten-year Pact of Non-Aggression and Neutrality with the Soviet Union on August 23, 1939.

[1] See Chapter IV: "Germany and the Far East, July 1937–September 1938", pp. 733–897 in *Documents on German Foreign Policy 1918–1945, Series D(1937–1945), Vol. I* (U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington 1949). Japan made a series of protests in 1937 against the continued stay of the German military advisers. In 1937 Germany also furnished Chiang Kai-shek with weapons to the value of 82,788,000 marks.

[2] Japanese Naval Commander Maeda (well-known in Batavia in 1945 as Vice-Admiral) suggested this transaction to the German Naval Attaché of the German Embassy in Tokyo on January 15, 1938 (Series D, Vol. I., pp. 818–819). Hitler, however, did not want to relinquish a single colonial trump.

[3] *The Challenge to Isolation 1937–1940*, p. 65.

[4] T. Kase, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[5] *The Challenge to Isolation 1937–1940*, p. 64.

Meanwhile, Japan "was going to keep on trying to beat China into submission and cling to the aim of attaining a new order in East Asia." [1] To control war supplies to Chungking through the principal route via French Indo-China, the Japanese navy, on February 10, 1939, occupied the island of Hainan, which lies off the coast of Indo-China, and dominates the port of Haiphong. This action was followed by the possession, on March 31, 1939, of the strategic Spratly Islands in the midst of the South China Sea, "equidistant from the Philippines, Indo-China, Siam, Borneo, Java and Singapore." [2] In the same month was announced a six-year programme of expansion for the Japanese navy, to cost over £ 120,000,000 in order to have sufficient power to face any conflict arising over the construction of the New Order in Eastern Asia. [3] These events clearly indicate the growing supremacy of the Navy, which had always been in favour of a policy of expansion towards the South, where lay the enormous possessions of the Western Powers. The view was now expressed that an advance to the South was preferable to a continuation of the war in China. [4]

The outbreak of the War in Europe on September 3, 1939, followed by the spectacular victories of the German armies, which overran in quick succession Poland, Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands and Belgium, causing serious anxieties throughout the Western World, offered a unique opportunity for the Land of the Rising Sun to implement their policy of expansion. "To the Japanese, the revolution of the European situation after Munich and the ensuing war came as a divine wind richly laden with further opportunities for lavish successes." [5] The prospects not only of creating the tripartite *bloc* of Japan, Manchukuo and China in Eastern Asia under Nipponese leadership, but also expanding the Empire to the South, appeared to be very bright. A fresh attempt was made to conclude the China Incident, since it was thought that "so long as the Japansee armies were tied up in China, it would be utterly impossible for the Tokyo

[1] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
[2] S. F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States* (Henry Holt and Company, New York 1950), p. 863.
[3] George W. Keeton, *op. cit.*, p. 242.
[4] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 509; *Timetable No.* 12. Count Terauchi expressed this opinion while visiting German General HQS in September 1939.
[5] S. F. Bemis, *op. cit.*, p. 863.

Government to take advantage of opportunities presented by the European war for further expansion."[1] Negotiations weer at once started to come to an agreement with Wang Ching-wei, who was a renegade associate of Chiang Kai-shek, and to set up a puppet Chinese government under Japanese auspices and protection, which resulted in the establishment of the Nanking Government on March 30, 1940. Nippon's desire to exploit the distress of the European Powers is clearly revealed in the following statement made by the Director of Military Intelligence to the British Military Attaché in Tokyo on June 17, 1940, when France, at the height of her crisis, was asking for armistice terms from Germany. He stated that "the Japanese people would be cowardly if they failed to take advantage of the opportunities presented by the disasters suffered by the French and British. Nothing could stop Japan from seizing French Indo-China, the Netherlands Indies or Hongkong – any one or all of them. The United States was in no position to prevent Japan from taking whatever action it liked in the Western Pacific. The only way in which Britain could avoid war would be by immediately closing the Burma Road and the Hongkong frontier, and by prompt withdrawal of British troops from Shanghai."[2] Japan was not in any way slow to act. She had already (on June 11, 1940) delivered a strongly-worded note to the British and French Ambassadors giving their governments "friendly advice" to withdraw all their troops stationed in China and recall their ships from her territorial waters. On June 19, 1940 the French Ambassador in Tokyo was presented with the two-fold demand that the Indo-China frontier should be closed to the supply of all war materials to China and that a Japanese Control Commission should be received in Indo-China to supervise the carrying out of this demand. Indo-China, deprived of any outside help, had to yield to the 48-hour Japanese ultimatum. A treaty of "amity and guarantee of territorial integrity" was concluded with Thailand (Siam), "providing for the exchange of information and mutual consultation on matters of common interest." The closing of the Burma Road to Chinese traffic was demanded on June 24, 1940, and was finally secured on July 18, 1940. All this was achieved without the use of any armed forces.

[1] *The Challenge to Isolation 1937–1940*, p. 294.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 596.

The sudden and unexpected collapse of France, which possessed the second largest colonial empire in the world, fired the imagination of the Nipponese warlords. On June 25, only three days after the capitulation of France, General Hata, the Minister of War, declared publicly: "We should not miss the present opportunity or we shall be blamed by posterity." [1] A few days later (June 29) Arita, the Japanese Foreign Minister, made a significant speech in which he claimed that "the countries of East Asia and the regions of the South Seas are geographically, historically, racially and economically very closely related .... The uniting of all these regions in a single sphere on a basis of common existence, insuring thereby the stability of that sphere, is a natural conclusion .... This system presupposes the existence of a stabilizing force in each region, with which as a centre the peoples within that region will secure their co-existence and co-prosperity as well as the stability of their sphere." [2] Arita now openly advocated the idea of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Thus, Japan's territorial ambitions were greatly increased. The goal was to be a "new order in Greater East Asia", instead of the "new order for East Asia."

The prevailing position of the Powers and existing circumstances appeared to be favourable for the creation of such a co-prosperity sphere. After the fall of France, England had been left alone, as it were, to face the German onslaught, and Nipponese warlords considered the chances of England's survival only negligible. Now that England had to all practical purposes been eliminated as the defender of the existing order in Asia, there was only the United States left to support it. The Japanese leaders were not, however, afraid of the United States. They did not regard it as impossible to come to an agreement upon the delimitation of spheres of influence with Washington, which, though it had adamantly refused to recognise the expansion of Japanese power since 1931, nevertheless, had done nothing to stop it. But the danger of a war on two fronts owing to a Russo-American alliance had to be avoided at all costs. The Japanese leaders, however, thought that Russia was allied to Germany as a result

[1] *ibid.*, p. 603.
[2] *New York Times*, June 30, 1940; *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 529; *Foreign Relations of the United States: Japan: 1931–1941, Vol. II* (U.S. Govt. Printing Office, Washington 1943), pp. 93–94.

of the partition of Poland. They also counted upon the sharp ideological clash between the "ideal state" of Communism and the classical homeland of individual freedom to hinder a Russo-American alliance.

One precautionary measure, however, was thought to be necessary. Japan must guard against a possible German empire in the Far East. Germany, soon to become the only ruling power in a new Europe, must make a *formal* renunciation of the Asiatic legacy of the defeated Western Powers, and signify her approval of Japanese leadership in the area of Greater East Asia. That she would not now oppose Japanese plans had been indicated when the German Ambassador in Tokyo, Ott, told Arita on May 22, 1940 that Germany "was not interested in the problem of the Netherlands East Indies." [1]

It seemed that the time for the decision upon the construction of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere had arrived. Army, Navy and Foreign Office representatives expressed this opinion after a four-day secret conference (July 12–16). [2] This Conference also discussed a Foreign Office plan to strengthen relations with Germany and Italy. [3]

With the formation of the Second Konoye [4] Cabinet (July 1940–July 1941) Japan's determination to expand in East and South East Asia and to create a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as had been envisaged in the Foreign Minister's speech of June 29, 1940, obtained official sanction. At the very first meeting of this Cabinet the foundations were laid for the building up of this New Order. It was also decided that "Japan should no longer waver between Germany and the democracies of the West. A pact with the Axis was to be sought, to be extended by a non-aggression pact with Russia." [5] This programme was endorsed by the Liaison Conference between the representatives of the Cabinet and of the Imperial Headquarters on July 27, 1940. [6]

[1] *Timetable No.* 29.

[2] Resolution of the Conference of representatives of the Army, Navy, and Foreign Office, July 12–16, 1940; *Timetable No.* 35.

[3] For details of this Foreign Office plan, see *The Challenge to Isolation 1937–1940*, pp. 605–606.

[4] Prince Konoye was at this time the leader of a movement aiming at an authoritarian régime and a one-party state on the model of Totalitarian Powers in Europe.

[5] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[6] *Timetable Nos.* 37 and 38; 26 and 27 July 1940: "Resolution of the Second Konoye Cabinet determining fundamental national policy aimed at establishing a New Order

Thereupon the aim of the new policy was officially made known in vague and general terms to the world in a statement of policy, issued on August 1, 1940. [1]

On September 4, 1940 "when the great German bombing squadrons were over London; when a German fleet was being assembled for the invasion of Britain; when the press was telling of the transfer of fifty old destroyers to Britain from the United States, but at the same time warning that this did not mean that the United States would enter the war," [2] Japan took an important step in the realisation of an agreement with the Axis Powers. On that day the Four Ministers' Conference (Prime Minister, Ministers of War, Navy and Foreign Affairs) approved a statement of policy, which was to provide the guide book in the forthcoming negotiations with these Powers. [3] The Liaison Conference of September 16, however, decided: "The time is now ripe to start quickly talks to strengthen the Axis." [4] The Policy statement of September 4 was also endorsed. It was re-endorsed in another Liaison Conference on September 19, when the Emperor gave his sanction to the conclusion of an alliance with the Axis.

The Triple Alliance, [5] as agreed upon, was formally signed on September 27, 1940. Japan undertook to recognize and respect "the leadership of Germany and Italy in the establishment of a new order in Europe" (Article I), and both Germany and Italy in return, promised to "recognize and respect the leadership of Japan in the establishment of a new order in Greater East Asia" (Article II). Article III stated: "Germany, Italy and Japan agree to co-operate in their efforts on aforesaid lines. They further undertake to assist one another with all political, economic and military means if one of the three Contracting Powers is attacked by a Power at present not involved in the European War or in the Chinese-Japanese conflict." This stipu-

in Great East Asia", and "Resolution of the Liaison Conference about the Gist of Main Points in regard to Dealing with the situation to meet the change in World conditions;" *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. Nos.* 541 and 1310.

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1297; *Timetable No.* 39.

[2] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

[3] For details see Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–114.

[4] Quoted in Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

[5] See *Documents on American Foreign Relations, Vol. III, 1940–1941* (World Peace Foundation, Boston 1941), pp. 304–311.

lation obviously referred to the United States though the parties chose not to name it. As Foreign Minister Matsuoka explained at the Imperial Conference on September 26: "Germany wants to prevent American entry into the war, and Japan wants to avoid a war with the United States." [1] Japan further agreed that the Alliance "affects in no way the political status existing at present between each of the three Contracting Parties and Soviet Russia" (Article V), as it was thought to be "possible eventually to bring the Soviet Union into the Tripartite Pact, thus establishing a continental alliance between Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union and Japan." [2] If such a grouping of Powers were to result, it would, it was believed, go far towards restraining the United States from declaring war against Japan in the Far East. Japan was confident that in the face of the Tripartite Agreement the United States would accede without any conflict to the establishment of the Japanese Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere rather than fight a Continental Alliance.

The nature of the New Order recognised in the Triple Alliance was left undefined. As to the limit of the Japanese "sphere of living", Foreign Minister Matsuoka, at the Privy Council meeting of September 26, had said: ".... the area .... includes French Indo-China, Thailand, Burma, the Straits Settlements, and the Oceanic group comprising the Dutch East Indies, New Guinea, New Caledonia, etc. Regarding this, we have made an understanding that this sphere could be automatically broadened in the course of time." [3] Thus the Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936 had been turned into an instrument of substituting Japanese leadership for Western supremacy in East and Southeast Asia.

It is quite obvious that Japan still hoped to create the Co-Prosperity Sphere without any war by means of diplomacy and military prowess. Negotiations had already been started on September 16, 1940 with the Netherlands Indies Government, aiming at "peaceful penetration" into the Indies. Nipponese forces had occupied without any opposition northern French Indo-China at the end of September 1940. At Tokyo, work now proceeded ceaselessly on the plans for the projected Co-Prosperity

[1] Quoted in Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
[2] T. Kase, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
[3] Quoted in Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

Sphere. It was envisaged that by closer contacts with Germany and Italy and by adjusting relations with Soviet Russia, it might be possible to pave the way for the pacification of China. Japan's allies and their dependants [1] would have to recognise the pro-Japanese government in Nanking. Germany would be asked to mediate with Chiang Kai-shek to force him to realise the hopelessness of his position and associate himself with the general peace settlement. The Chinese Communist Party was regarded as a greater obstacle to this plan than Chiang Kai-shek and his associates. Amicable relations with the Soviet Union were, therefore, thought to be necessary to neutralise the Chinese Communists. [2]

As soon as the pacification of China would be well underway, political and economic ties with French Indo-China, the Dutch East Indies, British Malaya, British Borneo, Siam and Burma and possibly the Philippines would have to be drawn closer.

The pressure of the desired coalition between Germany, Italy, the Soviet Union and Japan, which was to be strengthened in the meantime, would make it possible for the Imperial Government at Tokyo to negotiate a peace between Great Britain and Germany. The continued existence of the British Empire was to be guaranteed – especially the integrity of Australia and New Zealand. Finally, relations between Japan and the United States could then be normalised by the delimitation of their mutual spheres of influence across the Pacific with the recognition, if need be, of a special position for the Philippines.

It appears that Japanese political experts at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs were well aware that the chances of a peaceful settlement of all these problems were very slight. In particular, the peaceful surrender of Singapore and the cession of British Malaya seemed unlikely. On the other hand, they counted on little resistance from the Dutch East Indies once Singapore had been occupied. [3]

[1] Rumania, Hungary, France (Vichy), Spain, etc.

[2] *Hoover Doc. No.*837 *A* of the "Prosecution Section, Inter. Mil.Trib. for the Far East" present in the Hoover Library, California (cited in what follows as "*Hoover Doc.*"): "Outline of Japanese Foreign Policy" of September 28, 1940 with further elaboration "Tentative Plan for Policy towards the Southern Regions" of October 4, 1940. Summary in *Timetable Nos.* 51 and 53, referring to *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 628.

[3] Based on the text of *Hoover Doc. No.* 837A. In general these documents are badly translated. *Timetable No.* 53 shows the occupation of the East Indies oilfields

Provision had to be made, of course, for a number of other eventualities – a successful German landing in England eliminating her from the picture or, alternatively, the strengthening of the British position by the absence of such a landing, or a complete change in the attitude of Chiang Kai-shek.

It would be possible to decide the future status of each of the countries of the projected Co-Prosperity Sphere separately and according to the course of events. Details in the plan were, however, flexible and variable. In French Indo-China, an independence movement was to be inspired to cause France to renounce her sovereign right. Apart from Tongking, which was to be offered to Chiang Kai-shek in the case of an understanding with him, Cambodia was to go to Thailand. Japanese military advisers were to be appointed to key positions in these areas. The rest of Indo-China was to become independent. A military and economy alliance was to be devised so as to retain "the real power" and "strategic points in every area" for the Japanese.

In Burma also an independence movement was to be encouraged and the country was to be detached from British sovereignty. Specific areas in Upper Burma were to be given to Chiang Kai-shek as part of the price for an agreement. The rest of the country, or the whole of it if no agreement could be reached with Chiang Kai-shek, was to be made independent with the same military and economic alliance as foreseen in Indo-China.

Japan was to continue to demand the complete possession of Singapore and the Straits Settlements and the conclusion of a treaty advantageous to her, the final goal being the expulsion of the British. In case of the start of military operations, they were to coincide with the German invasion of England, or failing that, with the peak of the German attack. A military alliance was to be concluded with Thailand in order to use her as "a rear base." She was to receive the territory formerly belonging to her; the Straits Settlements were to be "placed under the direct rule of Japan", and the remainder of Malaya was to become a protectorate. The Plan also contained provisions for the Netherlands East Indies [1]. In all these territories the

as preceding that of Singapore in the plan, which, however, is in complete conflict with the context of the document and is also not shown as such in *Hoover Doc. No.* 837A.

[1] See Chapter I (Part II): "Plans for Indonesia".

right of enterprise for the nationals of third countries with which Japan would be at peace was to be recognised, but they were to follow the instructions of the Japanese Government.

How, when, in what form and on what scale the Japanese Co-Prosperity Sphere was to come about still remained dependent on the circumstances. However, the *aim* of the scheme was already laid down in its main outlines. [1] In 1940 the decisions of Japanese governments still only covered the narrower Prosperity Sphere – Japan as the centre and driving force, Manchukuo as prime collaborator, Northern China, Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang as collaborators of the second rank; Central and Southern China as a supplementary economic force and the islands off the Chinese coast, such as Hainan, as special units of strategic importance, whose status and economy would have to be entirely subjected to their rôle.

The main items concerning the distribution of functions to be arranged among these areas were as follows:

1. Japan would be the financial centre supervising financial affairs within the associated territories and controlling their foreign finance.

2. Japan would be the centre for all specialized industries, such as the production of "precision-machinery", arms, and important chemical products.

3. Japan would have an actual monopoly in the shipping industry and fisheries.

4. Japan would supply scientifically trained and the more skilled technical labour and send it out to the mainland.

5. Japan would bring about a general agrarian reform in its own and associated territories and co-ordinate agriculture and forestry in the associated countries.

6. Japan would transfer a great part of her heavy industries to Manchukuo and the greater part of her light industries to Northern China, and a part, too, to Central and South China.

7. Manchukuo's mining, industry and agriculture would be vigorously promoted with the aid of a labour force from Northern China.

[1] "Outline for the Economic Construction of Japan, Manchukuo and China", decided upon in the Cabinet meeting of October 3, 1940, *Hoover Doc. No.* 1611A; Summary in *Timetable No.* 52, referring to *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 861.

8. Northern China, Outer Mongolia and Sinkiang would increase their production of raw materials, improve their transport system by constructing railways, and build up widespread industries.

9. Central and Southern China would contribute to Japan's food supply as a result of the agrarian reforms.

10. In general, highly technical and strategical industries would be located in Japan and Korea; heavy industries where the raw materials were easily accessible, and light industries where they were required. As far as possible, the collaborating countries were to form a self-supporting unit.

The "South Sea Areas" were not yet mentioned in this plan. According to the opinion prevailing at the time they formed part of the outer ring of the Co-Prosperity Sphere. The ties linking them to Japan would be looser than those of the more closely associated territories and their rôle still more subordinate. In the summer and autumn of 1940 a very distinct political group had come to power whose views differed from those held by men who had so far been in power in Tokyo. All the plans mentioned above were the work of the Second Konoye Cabinet, which had come to power in July 1940 and in which the radical Kwantung military group was highly influential. General Tojo, former chief of the military police in Manchukuo and later Chief of the General Staff of the Kwantung Army, was the War Minister in this Cabinet. Yosuke Matsuoka, former Chairman of the South Manchurian Railway Company, educated in America and closely associated with the military radicals was the Foreign Minister. Naoki Hoshino, former Director of the General Affairs Board of the State Council of Manchukuo, [1] had been included in the Second Konoye Cabinet as Chairman of the Planning Board and Minister without Portfolio. [2] Hoshino, who apparently saw further than most Japanese imperialists, realized that a great Japanese empire, wholly under the influence of the great financiers and industralists, who for decades had controlled the entire economic life of the country, would always

[1] See Chapter IV (Part I): "Policy in Manchuria".

[2] T. A. Bisson, *Japan's War Economy* (Institute of Pacific Relations, New York 1945), p. 18. Bisson's account of events confutes the theory he advances in his introduction that Japan's war policy was the work of the Army and the *Zaibatsu*, working in concord.

be a shaky structure, threatened not only by enemies outside but also by the danger of revolution within. In order to ensure a firm national basis for the new world empire, he considered powerful state influence over private interests and the carrying through of national socialist measures to benefit broad sections of the population as necessary. He enjoyed the support of a section of the officer corps especially among the occupation and expeditionary troops on the mainland, but was openly and implacably opposed by the *Zaibatsu*, for whom the ideal of a Japanese world-empire coincided with the ideal of Japanese mastery over Asian economy.

The resistance offered by the *Zaibatsu* forced the Konoye Cabinet in December 1940 to abandon temporarily various radical reforms. The continuing struggle over the issue of industrial control appeared to have ended in the triumph of the business interests in April 1941 – Hoshino had to resign his post as Minister, and in the reshuffle of the Cabinet again on July 18, 1941 Matsuoka also disappeared from the government. [1] These changes "were clearly designed to establish unified Army-Navy-business co-operation on a conservative program in which the voice of the business groups would be supreme." [2]

This success, however, later proved to be a Pyrrhic victory. General Tojo remained a member of the second and third Konoye Cabinets. During his tenure of office as Minister he remained in active military service and gradually strengthened his hold on the government until he succeeded in ousting his rivals on October 18, 1941 and forming a cabinet under his own leadership. [3] General Tojo's dictatorship over both state and society after he came to power was the logical consequence of the policy of state planning as well as the increasing power of the Militarists over the state authority, which had been a marked feature of Japan's history since 1931, and which could only continue if coupled with a large expansion of Japanese power.

Nevertheless, it was still very difficult to decide when and

[1] *ibid.*, pp. 51–61. General Tojo brought his collaborator, Hoshino, back into the government as the Cabinet Secretary (*ibid.*, p. 76).

[2] *ibid.*, pp. 54–55.

[3] A colourful account of Tojo's personal authority in the war years is given by a Frenchman, R. Guillain (*Le Peuple Japonais et la Guerre, 1939–1946*, Paris 1947). During the war Guillain was in Japan where he enjoyed a certain amount of freedom of movement.

where the full military might of the Empire was to be employed for the creation of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The Japanese leaders did not apparently want to be led by their German ally in this matter but wished to keep the initiative in their own hands. From the political and strategical point of view, the obvious thing for Japan to do would have been to attack the British possessions immediately after the defeat of France in June 1940 in order to share in the process of delivering to tottering England the *coup de grace*. But Japan was not ready. [1]

The military experts expressed their opinion that they still needed several months to prepare for the campaign – nothing could be undertaken before April 1941. [2] In the meantime they hoped for a successful invasion of England by Germany. Ties with Germany and Italy were drawn closer by the conclusion of the Tripartite Alliance of September 27, 1940. The desire to strike grew daily in Japan, but dissension within the government and differences of opinion with regard to where action ought first to begin, delayed the commencement of hostilities, as much as did the state of unpreparedness of the military forces. No action could be taken against Chiang Kai-shek who was receiving aid from England and the United States. The French Vichy Government was constrained through Berlin to allow increasing Japanese intervention in Indo-China. Siam, now powerfully dominated by Japan, was given a free hand to threaten Cambodia and obtained help in coming to an advantageous peace with an extension of Siam's territory, which peace, as the first outward sign of Japan's hegemony, was initialled on board a Japanese warship and finally concluded at Tokyo (March 11, and May 9, 1941 respectively).

England's refusal to surrender in the winter of 1940–41 awakened new anxiety in some Japanese circles. It was becoming increasingly apparent that the United States, which had begun

[1] Report of the Chief of the General Staff of the Navy to the Mikado, August 10, 1940, *Timetable No.* 41; *Far East Mill. Trib., Exh. No.* 1298.

[2] *ibid.* Marquis Kido wrote in his Diary on August 10, 1940: "The Emperor told me what he and Prince Fushimi, Chief of the Navy General Staff, had talked about. The Prince said that 'The Navy at present want to avoid the use of force against Singapore and the Netherlands Indies, and that, since at least eight months will be required for preparations after a decision for war is made, the later war comes the better'." – Quoted in Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

"to shake off the drowsiness of the isolationist sleep", was determined to save Britain from having to fight to the last ditch; and that good relations between Russia and Germany could not survive another year. The United States was not only converting herself to an arsenal and supplying arms to Allied Powers under the Lend-Lease Act passed on March 11, 1941 but also was sending more troops and planes to Hawaii and the Philippines. The Japanese Government "seems to have become sure that a definite military understanding had been conceived between the United States and the British Commonwealth and the Netherlands."[1] Tojo and Matsuoka, who had evidently wanted to risk speedy action with less thorough military preparations, made only slow progress with their plans. The painful question kept reappearing: Would a total German victory really be to Japan's advantage? Despite all promises, might not Hitler demand the entire heritage of the West, including special economic privileges in East Asia? The Japanese Government made an attempt at mediation between Great Britain and Germany, which, however, had foundered at the first sounding in London.[2]

It was then decided to send Matsuoka to Europe "to be in personal touch" with the Nazi leaders concerning the operation of the Tripartite Pact, and the creation of the Japanese Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. On his way to Germany, the Minister stopped for a short time in Moscow where, in a talk with Stalin and Molotov, he suggested a settlement of all Russo-Japanese differences. The Russians, however, were asked to delay their reply until his return. On his arrival at Berlin he revealed Japan's many difficulties in the course of the long discussions held between March 27– April 4. The fears were principally: Japan's apprehension of being attacked in the rear by Soviet Russia or the United States in the event of a march to the south; the Japanese leader's anxiety that the United States might not risk her fleet in East Asiatic waters but might allow a five or ten-year war to develop; the desirability of including Russia as a fullscale partner in the Three-Power Pact

[1] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

[2] February 20, 1941. Churchill's reply in the House of Commons, February 23, 1941.

by offering her an ice-free outlet to the sea by way of India or Iran; and also the Japanese industrialists' fear that Germany might later insist upon special rights in East Asia. Matsuoka was careful, however, to keep concealed his private views about what Japan might do in future.

What he heard in reply came as a rude shock. What Hitler and Ribbentrop proposed to him was plausible enough: a direct Japanese attack on Singapore, by-passing the Philippines, and thereafter, that Japan should secure the territories she needed for the New Order in Great East Asia. Hitler would protect Japan's rear against Russian attack by placing 160 to 180 divisions along Russia's Western frontier. For reasons of ideology it was impossible to accept Russia as a fourth ally. England was still tottering, Hitler declared: one last blow and she would be on her knees. Japan need not fear German competition. Asia was for Japan, Europe and Africa for Germany and Italy. Both countries would follow Japan's example and recognize the Nanking government as the *de jure* government of China. But Hitler did not pledge himself to an automatic declaration of war on the United States if Japan was attacked in the rear. Ribbentrop, however, went further than his Führer, though doubtlessly on his instructions, by saying quite clearly that war with Russia was imminent. Within three months' time Soviet Russia would have ceased to exist as a Great Power!

Matsuoka obviously did not feel satisfied. He repeatedly insisted on accepting Russia as an ally, and when he failed to achieve any results on this score in Berlin, he returned via Moscow and concluded the Russo-Japanese Neutrality Pact on April 13, 1941, abandoning all the extravagant claims Japan had earlier made on Russia. [1]

[1] The details concerning Matsuoka's visit are still mainly known from the German archives. See the U.S. Dept. of State: *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939–1941* (1948), pp. 280–324. See also William L. Langer and S. Everett Gleason, *The Undeclared War, 1940–1941* (Royal Institute of Int. Affairs, London 1953) pp. 345–359; Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–187.

Stalin's unusual, effusive display of friendliness towards Germany on the occasion of Matsuoka's departure (Stalin embraced and kissed the German Military Attaché, saying: "We will remain friends with you – in any event.") can only be explained by the fact of Matsuoka's warning. The Japanese Foreign Minister had been extremely reserved in his attitude towards the German representatives during this second visit to Moscow. For an eyewitness account see Toshikazu Kase, *op. cit.*, p. 159. See also W. S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III, *The Grand Alliance* (Cassell & Co. Ltd., London 1950), pp. 161–172.

In the light of later events Hitler's advice appeared to be correct. Singapore could have been attacked and occupied without Russia being able to move on account of the German threat; the Dutch East Indies could have offered little resistance, and it would not have been easy for Roosevelt to involve the American people in a war for the sake of Singapore. The solidarity of the American people which revealed itself after Pearl Harbour and which lasted until the end of the war and made possible their vast war production, would have been lacking. Japanese military leaders, however, were of the opinion that they needed *three months* in all eventualities to capture Singapore (later it was occupied in ten weeks although the forces there had been strengthened) but Matsuoka regarded their estimate as too optimistic. If the struggle for Singapore were to last for six months as he feared, all the political and strategical advantages on which the plan was based would be lost. [1]

On the basis of these and other considerations Japan at last decided to wage the war of conquest for the New Order in Greater East Asia in its own way without close co-ordination with her allies. This was the fatal decision that caused her to direct her main attack against the United States which Berlin and Tokyo had first planned to exclude from the struggle until it had been sufficiently isolated. Indeed, by the middle of 1941 it appeared that wherever Japan had sought to penetrate by means of diplomacy without any armed conflict, the resistance had stiffened. A settlement in China could not be achieved. The U.S. had intensified her policy of strangulation against Japan and there was little evidence that she would accept Japan's programme of the Co-Prosperity Sphere. Negotiations conducted by Yoshizawa in Batavia [2] had failed. The breaking off of these negotiations on June 17, 1941 was a sign that a speedy resort to arms for the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere must now be reckoned with. The Chiefs of both Army and Navy declared the occupation of Southern Indo-China to be the first military action necessary. [3] There

[1] *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939–1941*, p. 310.

[2] See Chapter II (Part II): "Preparations for Conquest: Negotiations".

[3] At the Staff Conference of February 1, 1941 the military experts had already insisted on this occupation, but Matsuoka had succeeded in getting this delayed in order not to be bound to a plan of strategy during his talks in Berlin. The occupation

was still, however, little discussion as to what the second step would be. The purely military-minded commanders were all in favour of an attack on the American fleet at Pearl Harbour. A plan for this had been submitted to Imperial General Headquarters in January 1941 by the Commander of the Combined Fleets, and carefully worked-out exercises for its execution commenced in May of the same year. [1] This still did not mean that it had definitely been decided to attack – it was necessary to take all possibilities into account. It did, however, mean that the Navy was determined to keep the leadership concerning naval war strategy in its own hands. For the Japanese Navy, the U.S. became the principal national enemy. A last attempt to preserve the co-ordination of war policy with Germany and Italy had failed. The German invasion of Russia on June 22, 1941 induced some quarters to suggest a complete change of strategy and the opening of a continental war with Russia. Matsuoka, in particular, was of the opinion that "it was wiser to concentrate attention on the north and remove the Russian menace once for all by joining the German attack upon the Soviet Union." [2] The Joint Conference of the Government and Military Commanders held on July 2, 1941 in the presence of the Emperor, however, flatly rejected this proposal and definitely committed Japan to the "southern advance." [3] The Conference decided that Japan was determined to follow a policy which would result in the establishment of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, "no matter what international developments take place;" would hasten her advance into the Southern

was decided upon at the Liaison Conference between the Government and the Imperial Headquarters on June 25, 1941 (*Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1306; *Timetable No.* 92).

[1] Joseph W. Ballantine, "Mukden to Pearl Harbor. The Foreign Relations of Japan", *op cit.*, p. 660. Despite the promising title, this article is very brief and incomplete.

[2] T. Kase, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[3] Joseph W. Ballantine, *op. cit.*, p. 661; Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, pp. 211–217; *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 588; *Timetable No.* 93. An urgent call on Japan by the German Government to throw her troops into the battle against Russia came too late (July 10). It is remarkable that though the Japanese Naval Commanders desired rather than feared a rally by the American fleet to the Western side of the Pacific Ocean, they all the same allowed themselves to be governed by theoretical military thinking and decided to attack the Americans in their own harbours, although they had no troops ready to occupy the harbours immediately after the attack.

Regions and "remove all obstacles for the achievement of the foregoing purpose." It was further decided that "first of all, the plans which have been laid with reference to French Indo-China and Thailand will be prosecuted with a view to consolidating our position in the Southern territories", "even at the risk of an armed conflict with Great Britain and the United States." For this conflict "basic military preparations" would be carried forward. Thus the decision had been taken. Both the Army and Navy now united to embark upon the Southward march, and there was still the slender hope that an open war with the Anglo-American Powers might be avoided.

On July 16, 1941 the Second Konoye Cabinet resigned. The formation of a new cabinet by the Prime Minister on July 18 without Matsuoka and a few other less willing elements in the former government did not, however, mean a change in the policy. The execution of the policy of advance to the South remained as its main objective. Only five days later (July 23), Japan secured the extension of Japanese occupation in Southern Indo-China, and on July 26 General Sumita settled down in Saigon with the spearhead of the Japanese Army. "Occupation of Southern Indo-China in July 1941", remarks Bisson, "climaxed the southward advance which Japan had been making step by step as opportunity presented since the attack on China began four years earlier.

"The sequence and timing of these steps are instructive. Japanese forces occupied the Canton area in October 1938, following the Munich Settlement. The growing European crisis facilitated seizure of Hainan Island in February and the Spratly Islands in March 1939. Northern Indo-China was occupied during the Battle for Britain in September 1940. With Southern Indo-China in their hands, the Japanese held the final operational base required for the attack on Southeast Asia." [1]

British and American counter-action to this latest Japanese move followed at once, in the form of warnings, abrogation of more treaties and freezing of Japanese assets, which meant a clear break with the Western Powers and economic isolation for Japan. Doubts were now expressed as to Japan's power of

[1] T. A. Bisson, *America's Far Eastern Policy* (The Macmillan Company, for the Intstitute of Pacific Relations, New York 1945), pp. 125–126.

endurance. Suzuki, President of the Planning Board, expressed the view that if the embargo continued, Japan would collapse within two years.[1] That the freezing-order had the effect of making Japan more determined to move South was clearly stated in a cable sent to Oshima, Japanese Ambassador in Berlin, on July 31, 1941, and repeated to the Japanese Ambassador in Washington, Admiral Nomura: "Commercial and economic relations between Japan and other countries, led by England and the United States, are gradually becoming so horribly strained that we cannot endure it much longer. Consequently, the Japanese Empire, to save its very life, must take measures to secure the raw materials of the South Seas. It must take immediate steps to break asunder this ever-strengthening chain of encirclement which is being woven under the guidance of and with the participation of England and the United States, acting like a cunning dragon seemingly asleep."[2] Japan's stiffening attitude was also noticed in her answer, on August 6, 1941, to President Roosevelt's proposal that Indo-China be neutralized. Following the Churchill-Roosevelt meeting on board a warship in the Atlantic on August 14, which not only laid down the principles of the Atlantic Charter (in a highly informal manner) but also provided for the speedy announcement of a joint declaration opposing Japanese plans of expansion, Konoye addressed to Roosevelt his well-known letter of August 28, 1941, in which he proposed for a Japanese-American conference at sea. But the Military High Command demanded a quick decision for war. Oil stocks were rapidly dwindling. "If Japan was to fight, the longer it waited the greater the risk that the battle might be lost for lack of oil or other essential raw materials."[3] Moreover, there was only a short time ahead of good fighting weather. According to strategists, October and November were the best months for landing operations in the Southern regions. The Supreme Command further calculated, it seems, that "should the beginning of the war be delayed beyond the spring of the following year, the menace from the Soviet Union would appreciably increase, as military operations in the north would

[1] Deposition of Suzuki, *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 3605.
[2] Cable No. 708, Tokyo to Berlin, July 31, 1941. Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 249.
[3] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 269.

become easier with the passing of winter." [1] Moreover, "as time went by, the United States was bound to achieve air superiority over Japan. The hostile encirclement would grow in strength as time passed." [2]

So, pressed by the Military High Command, the Imperial Conference of September 6, 1941 decided to execute the policy of marching towards the South by completing all military preparations for a war with the United States, Great Britain and the Netherlands by the end of October, should Japanese demands for a British-American guarantee not to strengthen their position in the South be rejected by the early part of October. Japan would be willing, if necessary, to guarantee the neutrality of the Philippines. [3] Although no date was thus fixed for the commencement of hostilities, the Army and Navy secured formal Imperial sanction to get ready for war. Measures followed to speed up production of war materials. War plans for the campaign against Southern Areas were carefully worked out and made ready for action. The Navy War College in Tokyo held the "Final War Games" of the Navy during September 2–13, 1941 when the naval operations against Pearl Harbour, the Philippines Malaya, Hongkong, the Netherlands Indies, etc. were demonstrated in detail. [4] Meanwhile, nothing came of Konoye's proposal for a Japanese-American Conference or of the "informal conversations", which had been conducted in Washington between the two governments since March 1941. War Minister Tojo now strongly insisted on the discontinuance of talks with the United States which wanted Japan to renounce the policy of expansion. He demanded a definite decision for war.

With the certainty of war in mind, a new change of cabinet was decided upon in Tokyo – General Tojo himself took the reins in hand on October 18, 1941, and the stage was set for the final plunge. The Military High Command took complete control of the government and the last resistance to a policy of aggression was rudely disposed of. "Japan is standing at the crossroads", declared the new Prime Minister, "the ways to her rise or fall". All war preparations were now intensified. Invasion plans

[1] T. Kase, *op. cit.*, p. 50.
[2] *ibid.*
[3] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 588; *Timetable No.* 100.
[4] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 809; *Timetable Nos.* 101 and 102.

entered their final phase. An agreement was reached between the Army and Navy, dividing the duties and command in joint operation in the coming campaign. Terauchi was appointed as the commander-in-chief of the newly-organised Southern Army with headquarters at Saigon, which had been acquired in July 1941. [1] Between October 23 and November 2 a Liaison Conference between the Government and the Supreme Command was held "in order to conduct a searching analysis of the situation at home and abroad." [2] The arguments for and against embarking on a war were discussed for the last time. The final opinion was that the war must be started before the end of 1941. [3] Indeed, the difficulties would be great and the power-relations uncertain; what military forces would have to be maintained in China and on the Russian frontier was difficult to plan, and what military achievements the U.S. might be capable of in reaction to a Japanese attack was still unknown. Moreover, Great Britain seemed on the way to recovery from the blows she had sustained in 1940 and Hitler's war policy was quite unpredictable. At the end of October it still looked as if Russia would be defeated before the New Year, 1942 and the Japanese seriously reckoned with the German forces making a right-about-turn and marching from captured Moscow back to the French embarkation ports, from which an invasion of England might be directed. England would probably then sue for peace, which could be granted on fairly tolerable conditions.

The final decision to launch a war against the United States, Great Britain and the Netherlands was, however, taken at an Imperial Conference on November 5, 1941. Military forces were to be ready for an attack by the beginning of December, thus amending the decision of September 6 to go to war at the end of October. Germany and Italy were to be notified to this effect and asked to declare war at the same time. Nippon would maintain peace with Russia. An attempt was to be made to acquire transcontinental connections between Japan and Germany by encouraging Russia to expand in the direction of British India and Persia. Until the commencement of hostilities,

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. Nos.* 809 and 1252; *Timetable No.* 103.
[2] T. Kase, *op. cit.*, p. 57.
[3] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. Nos.* 1328 and 1329; *Timetable No.* 106.

Japan was to maintain "peaceful" negotiations, in order to conceal her real intentions. It was further decided that immediately before the advance into Siam, free passage for Japanese troops and all facilities connected with it were to be demanded of that country and a common defense pact was to be concluded. After the opening of the war the pressure on the Chiang regime was to be strengthened by cutting off the Burma and Hongkong routes and by making use of the Chinese in the Southern Regions. In judging later events it is also important to remember that it was decided at this Conference – in the presence of Emperor Hirohito, and thus with the sanction of the highest, unimpeachable authority – to grant "independence" to Burma and the Philippines as soon as possible after their conquest, and later to a part of Indonesia as well. The independence movement in British India was to be supported. [1]

Immediately after this Imperial Conference there was issued by the Commander-in-Chief of the Combined Fleets the "Combined Fleet Top Secret Operation Order No. 1 in the war against the United States, Great Britain and the Netherlands", which contained (in the Chapter on "the Outbreak of War and the use of Arms thereto") full instructions for the starting of operations. Two days later (November 7) the "Combined Fleet Top Secret Operation Order No. 2" was issued, in which it was definitely stated that December 8, 1941 would be the day of attack on Pearl Harbour, Malaya, Hongkong, the Philippines, etc. [2]

To conceal the Southward march which was now beginning and perhaps with a last ray of hope that the Western Powers would capitulate without a war, Saburu Kurusu was despatched as Ambassador Extraordinary to negotiate with Washington – on the same day as the Japanese forces received their marching orders. On November 10, the fleet which was to attack Pearl Harbour assembled east of the Kuriles. On November 26, it started on its fateful journey to Hawaii. The American proposal of the same day, which appeared to the Japanese to turn their calendar back to 1937, provided the pretext for the formal confirmation of December 8, 1941 as the date for starting a war with the Western Powers, which was done at the Imperial

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. Nos.* 878, 1169 and 1176; *Timetable No.* 108.
[2] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1252; *Timetable Nos.* 109 end 110.

Conference on December 1, 1941. [1] While simultaneous attacks were made on Pearl Harbour, Hongkong, Malaya, etc. on December 8, Admiral Nomura and Kurusu in Washington delivered to Secretary of State Hull the final Japanese memorandum, accusing the United States at every turn of conspiring "with Great Britain and other countries to obstruct Japan's efforts towards the establishment of peace through the creation of a New Order in East Asia". As with China in 1894, and Russia in 1904, Japan thus chose to declare peaceful methods no longer possible after her forces had already launched a war of aggression.

When war plans for the creation of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere had reached their final stages, it was felt necessary to elaborate the policies to be followed in the occupied territories. Therefore, the Liaison Conference of November 20, 1941 decided [2] that in the aforesaid areas military administrations were to be set up, and existing administrative organs were to be utilised as much as possible for the conduct of these military administrations. All social and national customs were to be respected. The occupation authorities should, on the one hand, aim at the acquisition of all materials and products vital for the prosecution of the war, and on the other, strive after the self-sufficiency of the needs of the occupation troops from local resources. Special attention was to be given for the control of exploitation, communication, commercial and financial facilities. As a means of transaction the occupation authorities were to make use of valid and available local currency; "occupation money" was to be circulated only when it could not be done otherwise. [3] The securing of all products necessary for the prosecution of the war and for the maintenance of the occupation forces would certainly not be possible without exerting some "pressure" on the native population. "Natives will have to reconcile themselves to such pressure as is unavoidably involved for them in our acquisition of resources" – runs the instruction of the Liaison Conference. Thus the interests of the local popu-

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 588; *Timetable No.* 116.

[2] *Hoover Doc. No.* 1448, "Details of the Execution of Administration in the Southern Occupied Territories", Decisions of Liaison Conference, November 20, 1941; Summary in *Timetable No.* 112, referring to *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 877.

[3] The instruction for the printing of occupation money for the Dutch East Indies and other regions had already been given in January 1941. See *Timetable No.* 72 (*Inter Prosec. Section, Doc.* 9022, see *Exh. No.* 840).

lation were to be subordinated to those of Japan. American, British and Dutch nationals would have to be directed "to co-operate" with the military administration. Measures, such as deportation and other "suitable means", would be taken against the unwilling. The existing rights and interests of Germans, Italians and other allies would be respected but "any future extension of them will be restricted as far as possible". Distrust was, however, still working in the minds of the Japanese: the Chinese would be dealt with more drastically. They were to be made "to renounce allegiance" to the government of Chiang Kai-shek and "sympathize and co-operate with" the military administration. Evidently, voluntary co-operation was not expected of them.

Characteristic are the restrictions which were to be imposed also on their own compatriots: the Japanese should first be examined for their "reliability" before they would be allowed to go to the new territories; preference would be given to those who had already lived in the country concerned.

It was further decided that the administration in the occupied areas would strictly remain in the hands of the military authorities: all problems connected with the administration would be laid before the Government through the General Headquarters and along the same way directives of the Government would be sent out. Only "gradually" the functions of the military administration would be transferred to the organisation set up by the Government. These broad principles were obviously meant to be applied to war-time conditions which demanded maximum possible aid to Japan's war efforts.

For the preparation of a more permanent system for the newly-conquered territories of East and South East Asia, a Cabinet Commission called the Sixth Committee was instituted by a decision of the cabinet on November 28, 1941, under the chairmanship of the President of the Planning Board, Suzuki, and composed of the members of that Board, the departments of Foreign Affairs, Finance, War and Navy. [1] This Committee presented an elaborate document on December 12, 1941, [2] which

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1331; *Timetable No.* 114. The Sixth Committee came into being on December 2, 1941 and was modified on January 23, 1942.

[2] *Hoover Doc. No.* 1492: "Outline of the Economic Counter-Plans for the Southern Area", December 12, 1941; Summary in *Timetable No.* 124, referring to *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1332.

outlined the measures for the economic re-organisation of the Southern Areas, comprising the Dutch East Indies, British Malaya, Borneo, and the Philippines (which were to form Area A); and French Indo-China and Thailand (to form Area B).

In regard to Area A, the measures to be adopted were contained in two plans: "the first counter-plan, and the second counter-plan." The purpose of the first counter-plan was to secure resources for carrying on the war. Every means was to be applied "to prevent outflow of special resources of the Southern areas to enemy countries." Existing enterprises were to be made to co-operate for the acquisition of resources and efforts were to be directed "to lighten to the minimum the burdens on our Imperial economic strength." The second counter-plan aimed at the completion of a system of autarchy in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the economic development of the Japanese people in the Co-Prosperity Area, and the promotion of economic exchange between areas within the Co-Prosperity Sphere.

The first counter-plan went into great details. Self-sufficiency of the different regions for daily necessities of life was to be the aim. Japan was to be relied upon only for such materials as were not to be found or substituted locally. In the development of natural resources oil was to be given priority. At the beginning the petroleum industry was to be managed by the military and as soon as conditions would permit, it was to be transferred to private enterprise. Special attention was to be directed towards the acquisition of oil, suitable for aviation gasoline.

Of the mineral resources, nickel, copper, bauxite, chromium, manganese, mica, phosphate or other ores for special steel and non-ferrous metal (tin excepted) were to be exploited. Tin and iron production was to be temporarily suspended. For the exploitation of these resources private *entrepreneurs* were to be selected as far as possible. The exploitation of resources in one place was to be left as much as possible to one *entrepreneur* of local experience and ability; and throughout the Southern area the same variety of resources was to be divided and shared by two or more *entrepreneurs*, so as to avoid the danger of monopoly.

No new *entrepreneurs*, except in urgent cases, were to be admitted for the time being in the field of agriculture, forestry

and marine products. Each region was to endeavour to attain self-sufficiency in food. Manufacturing industries were not to be set up "as a rule", except special ones, for example, shipbuilding, repair shops, necessary for the equipment and exploitation of natural resources.

With regard to the monetary system the plan stated that military currency, to be expressed in the local currency of each area, was to be circulated at par with the local currency. Enforcing measures were to be issued for that purpose. In the end the local system of currency was to be controlled and military currency withdrawn. To that end such means were to be used as borrowing money from, and floating loans through, the note issuing banks, appropriation of confiscated enemy property, and forced contributions of local governments. A general control of currencies was to be organised. It was further stated in the plan that ships of more than 500 tons, seized in the area, were to be transferred to the Central Authorities in Tokyo, but those under 500 tons were to be used in the area under the direction of the Central Authorities. The local army and navy forces were to strive for the attainment of local self-sufficiency in food, fuel, supplementary clothing and building materials. It is important to bear in mind that the economic measures taken by Japan in the Southern Regions after their occupation closely followed the programme outlined in this document.

It is necessary here to discuss the political set up in which the Japanese envisaged the scheme of economic re-organisation. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and that of War lost no time in drafting memoranda for this purpose. The former, however, submitted relatively moderate proposals.[1] The basic principles were to be: the establishment of military bases throughout the Co-Prosperity Sphere; co-operation with Japan in foreign policy and national defence by the newly-created states; permanent economic co-operation; and the driving out of European and American influence from the whole of the Area. The right of the native population to independence was, according to this Plan, rather generously recognised ("respecting to the utmost the

[1] *Hoover Doc. No.* 1112A: "Summarized Plan for Management of the South Sea Area", December 14, 1941; Summary in *Timetable No.* 125 referring to *Far Eas Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1333A.

desire of the Southern people for emancipation and independence") but always with the reservation of Japan's right to annex any territory, especially those of backward people. The Philippines would become "quickly" independent. An "Indonesian Federation", excluding less developed areas which were to be under the direct control of Japan, was to be established. [1] Singapore and the Straits Settlements were to be Japanese territories and administered by a Japanese Governor-General at Singapore. A new federation, consisting of the former Federated and non-Federated States of Malaya, was to be set up, and the administration was to be directed and controlled by the Japanese Governor-General at Singapore. A "treaty of protection" was to be concluded with the Federation as well as its component states in order to safeguard Japan's "right of protectorate" over them. The Kingdom of Brunei was to be made a separate Japanese protectorate with a similar treaty and controlled by the Governor-General at Singapore. British North Borneo and Sarawak, where the monarchy was to be abolished, were to be organised as Japanese territories and governed by the Governor-General at Singapore. The disposition of Hongkong was to depend on the settlement of the China Incident.

Thus the experts of Foreign Affairs tried to follow closely the instructions of the Imperial Conference of November 5, 1941 with great caution. "Further problems", runs the memorandum, would "be dealt with according to circumstances." Evidently, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had little sympathy for fantastic plans of the Army; for these were really appalling!

The Research Section of the Ministry of War presented also in December 1941 two documents. The one contained the fundamental principles of the re-organisation of the South Sea Area, the other a further elaboration with a detailed political division of the world empire to be founded. [2]

As part of the Japanese policy, the War Ministry also reiterated the extermination of the Anglo-American domination and the

[1] See Chapter I (Part II): "Plans for Indonesia".

[2] *Hoover Doc.* No. 1987B: "The Fundamental Principles of the Remedial Measures for Southern Regions to be occupied as a Result of the Great East Asia War" and "Plan for Land Disposal within the Greater Asiatic Co-Prosperity Sphere", December 1941. Summary in *Timetable Nos.* 126 and 127, referring to *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1334.

elimination of all British, American and Dutch influence in South East Asia. The second purpose would be the re-organisation of natural resources of the area by the native population under the direction of the Japanese for the benefit of the Japanese Empire and the national defence. This re-organisation, according to the Plan, was also of "vital necessity" for the promotion of the well-being of the population within the region, considering the fact that the whole economy of the Co-Prosperity Sphere would be harnessed in such a way that it would lead to the reduction of overproduction of those resources for which the demand inside the area would remain below the existing production. Rubber, tin and sugar were specially mentioned in this connection. [1]

After the war all occupied areas, with the exception of certain military bases, would get "freedom" and be made "independent monarchies." In determining the new states, the degree of development of their inhabitants would be taken into consideration, but the dictum "one race, one state" would not necessarily be observed. A combination of several states was also foreseen "in case of necessity." [2] In any event Japanese control of foreign and military affairs of all states of the Co-Prosperity Sphere was to be regarded as a *sine qua non* to the peace and stability in the whole area. Thus Japan was to retain full freedom of action and complete supervision in the re-organised scheme.

And how far this supreme authority of Japan would extend? The plan of December indicated also the limits, which sounds so fantastic, that some amount of doubt arises about the authenticity or at least of the official character of this document. To the West, Goa on India's West coast would be the farthest point; to the North, the Arctic Sea till the north of Alaska; to the East, it would extend till the eastern islands of Caribbean Sea, where the new Japanese Colonial Empire would touch the Western border of the future German sphere of influence. More to the south than the projected Southern border was impossible: the South Pole itself would be the terminus. This was the way in which some of the Japanese planners imagined themselves "Asia

[1] Thus the maintenance of the production of these materials for trade with areas outside the Co-Prosperity Sphere was in principle rejected.

[2] This may be understood to mean the translation (perhaps defective) of the Japanese text in *Hoover Doc.* 1987B, which runs thus: "In case of necessity these monarchies shall be organized as Coalition monarchies".

for the Asiatics!" It appears that the basic idea of the expulsion of the Anglo-Saxons from the Co-Prosperity Sphere had a sinister significance, for Australia and New Zealand were to be included in the sphere. The plan envisaged a series of "Governments-General" – Formosa, South Sea Islands (Guam, Nauru, Ocean Island, Gilbert Islands, Wake), Melanesia, East Pacific, Australia, New Zealand, Ceylon, Alaska, and Central America – which would form the outer ring of the Japanese sphere of influence. Inside this, there would be the group of "independent states" – East Indian Kingdom (embracing the Dutch East Indies and British Borneo), Kingdoms of Burma (including "the whole of British Burma, Assam Province [India], the portion of Bengal Province from the left bank of the River Ganges to the eastern part of the Shahappur Canal from the confluence of the River Brahmaputra; with Thailand the boundaries shall be established separately"), Malaya (the Federated States of Malaya), Siam, Cambodia, Annam (with Tongking), and, of course, China and Manchukuo, although not mentioned in this connection. Hainan, Hongkong and the Philippines would be the directly-governed Japanese territories.

The extravagant ideas of the Ministry of War were only partially approved by General Tojo's own "Total War Research Institute." [1] It was this Institute that openly pointed out the desirability of making the attack on Pearl Harbour, the beginning of a series of wars to be waged over a period of more than twenty years with the purpose of a systemetic expansion of East Asia to a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, and later on, to the Japanese world domination. The plan-makers of the Institute were wholly seized with the mythical world of thought, which considered Japanese role in world events as a divine mission and for whom the "new order" in Asia should be not only economic and political but also moral and intellectual. Their ideas were those of the radical military reformers, not those of the power-loving Japanese financiers. Their plans had influence on the course of events and proved that the régime of General Tojo and

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 868; *Timetable No.* 128. The "Total War Research Institute" was established by a law in October 1940 under the direct supervision of the Premier in order to make a profound study of the needs of the total national war as well as to lead and control in this respect the education and training of official personalities.

his supporters had been really revolutionary in its intentions. They betrayed a fanaticism for which probably nothing was sacred and which found a final expression in an officers' uprising against the Imperial commandment that enjoined the surrender.

For them Japan and Japan's structure was the manifestation of true morality in social forms. [1] The Co-Prosperity Sphere would thus serve for spreading the moral principles which were based on "the original spirit of the Imperial influence" and would promote East Asiatic culture through the moral unification of that area.

This was the language and trend of thought of the group which had formed itself from the officers, attached to the Kwantung Army and working in Manchukuo. In his talk with Hitler in the spring of 1941 Matsuoka had told of his conversation with Stalin. Many minutes of his valuable time, he said, he had spent to explain to Stalin that "the Japanese were moral communists", and that this ideal had lived among the people since time immemorial. "Moral communism" was no political or economic communism, Matsuoka had argued, which the Japanese had much earlier tried and rejected. Liberalism, individualism, and egoism introduced from the West had overthrown the Japanese ideal of moral communism but there was now a minority which was strong enough to fight successfully for the restoration of the Old Ego (*alten Ichs*) of the Japanese. This ideological struggle in Japan was extremely bitter. But the group that was fighting for the restoration of the old ideals was convinced that it would be finally victorious, and the fight against the Anglo-Saxons who were mainly responsible for the entry of false principles of life into Japan would also represent the fight and victory of the revived national ideal. [2]

The Japanese Empire would be the centre and the champion of an Eastern moral and cultural revival, and, therefore, people and rulers should return to a true understanding of the spirit and morality of the national character. The Emperor, who was

[1] *Hoover Doc. No.* 2402B: "Draft of Basic Plan for Establishment of Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" (Total War Research Institute), January 27, 1942; Summary in *Timetable No.* 129 referring to *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1336.

[2] *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941, op. cit.*, p. 297. See also *The Undeclared War, 1940–1941, op cit., p.* 348; W. S. Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. III, pp. 166–167.

in an exalted way the pivot of everything and the source of all moral principles, would make Japan the touchstone of the world. On the basis of this conception the Japanese should work and their historical mission would be to create a moral order in the world. As if in Matsuoka's own words, the Draft of January 27, 1942 of the Total War Research Institute continued: Europe and America, employing their material civilization, had penetrated into the East. The East had consequently become a "Europeanised Asia." It had been the divine country of Japan that had resisted this intrusion, and now she would put an end to this Western penetration.

So, this was the world of thought of the radical military circles which had placed Japan in her seat of power through Tojo's premiership. Such a state and such a government could think itself bound to nothing but to the self-imposed divine mission. The elimination of all Western influence and penetration, including the physical extermination of Western "intruders", not only of a few thousands in the Philippines, or some tens of thousands in Singapore or hundreds of thousands in Indonesia but also of millions in Australia and New Zealand, was their firm determination. Insight into the mentality and position of Tojo's followers both in government and military power is, therefore, a necessary condition for a proper understanding of the Japanese occupation policy in Indonesia – her aims, methods and failure.

The plan-makers of the Total War Research Institute were so strongly influenced by ideological motives that they did not feel diffident to leave Russia out of consideration, as the experts of Foreign Affairs and the political advisers of the Ministry of War did. For them it was a foregone conclusion that war with the Soviets and their expulsion from East Asia should be the first objective after the chief enemy of the New Order, Great Britain, would be eliminated. If possible, war against Russia should be postponed till that with America was ended. Otherwise, the risk of a war on two fronts was to be ventured. For, without the conquest of the Russian Maritime Province in East Siberia and without the reunion of Inner and Outer Mongolia, Japan would not be able to fulfil her mission. Indeed, the Institute admitted that "the worst thing that might happen" was that Great Britain, the U.S., China and Soviet Russia "might form an

alliance", and Japan "be forced to fight them all at once." Even in this case, an attempt was to "be made to crush them separately even if only from the strategic point of view." About the outcome of such a war the Institute dared not give any self-assured statement. Japanese planners evidently did not suspect that the worst of everything would happen only after four years and that Japan would be struck powerless.

The Institute did not aim at the expansion of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere to the Western Hemisphere as the Ministry of War dreamt. Their aim was that this Sphere should be built up in three stages: an Inner Sphere of firm unity formed by Japan, Manchukuo, North China, the Lower Yangtze Area and the Russian Maritime Province with Kamchatka; a Smaller Sphere in which, besides the Inner Sphere, Eastern Siberia, the rest of China, Indo-China and the South Seas would be included; and then the Greater Sphere, which would embrace Australia, India and the islands in the Pacific, besides the Smaller Sphere. The last one would be the sphere of influence, the glacis of the Japanese fortress, of which the border of the Smaller Sphere would form the battlement and the Inner Sphere would be the main bulwark. On a large scale freedom and independence would be promised, not that the peoples of Asia would organise themselves freely according to the "objectionable" Western-liberal idea of self-determination but after Japan's example of true spiritual culture, so that they would support voluntarily the Empire and through that each other. Those peoples who had no cultural formation or significance, such as Dajaks, Papuans, South Sea Islanders, Siberians, would have no claim to training for self-government. The less developed would have to find their way to absolute independence more or less under Japanese guardianship. Two areas which would give the Japanese ship, like anchors, safe riding, would be specially linked to the Central Country (Japan): Manchukuo in the north and the Malayas in the south. Two other sheet anchors of the new Kingdom would be the military power of Japan and the unity of mentality to be created throughout the whole area.

The latter point is of great interest since the Plan of January 27, 1942 emphasised on the desirability of a mutual cultural exchange between the territories of the Co-Prosperity Sphere.

As a general vehicle of intellectual intercourse, the Japanese language would have to be employed in place of English that had dominated till 1941. Therefore, education should be imparted in the Japanese language in all schools of the Co-Prosperity Sphere. The Draft expressed its strong opposition against two cultural influences: first, "Occidental individualism and materialism", and secondly, "the negative and conservative" characteristics of the Indian and Chinese civilizations. On the other hand, the "good points of Western culture" would be accepted. An Eastern "moral" culture would have to be created, based on "the nucleus of the Eastern tradition", for which the "Imperial Way" would serve as an example. All peoples of the East would have to be taught to worship and follow the "Imperial Way" for the creation of a New Order, "not based on exploitation but on true co-operation", not on formal rule of equality but on "just classification", "not on a belief in rights but in duties", not on several world conceptions but "on one unified spiritual foundation."

The cultural programme was further detailed in a second document of the same Institute, dated February 18, 1942. [1]

This document argued that the Southern peoples, who are mild in nature and not unfavourably disposed towards Japan, knew too little of her. Propaganda for Japan by all suitable means was, therefore, thought to be of prime necessity. In doing so, the peculiarities of the different peoples should be taken into account and the result of the work should be continually watched. The Japanese should, therefore, occupy the most important posts in the propaganda organisation.

The fundamental aim of the propaganda would be to influence the intellectuals; for the ignorant masses special methods would have to be employed. The Chinese were to be influenced through their secret associations. As soon as the situation would permit, the intellectuals would be given the opportunity to visit Japan, which would convince them that it was not necessary to depend on America or Europe.

American, British and Dutch methods should disappear from

[1] *Hoover Doc. No.* 1621 C: "Establishment of East Asia. Manœuvers for the First Period of Total War", February 18, 1942. Summary in *Timetable No.* 128 referring to *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1335.

education, although it might not be possible for the time being to dispense with the existing educational institutions. Education was to be based on the ideal of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Native teachers should be retrained and scholars and leading educationists from Japan would be sent to important places. From the associated states teachers and students should be sent to Japan in order to get acquainted with Japanese universities and Japanese science, not, however, out of pure cultural motives, for in Japan they would be housed and indoctrinated in special institutions, and after completion of their studies "practical use shall be made of them under a certain definite policy."

European and American liberalism and communistic ideas would be banned. Movements for independence, resulting from "narrow-minded racialism or what tends to be racial egoism" should be "corrected" and converted to "Oriental moralism." At the beginning a "powerful thought movement" should be directed to strengthen the support for Japan's war efforts. Leading minds and intellectuals were to be brought together from different parts for the realization of the idea of East Asiatic unity. The "Co-Prosperity idea" would have to find its expression in the very attitude of every individual.

Interesting were the directives for political training of the people. The freedom of expression of the natives in the political field should be respected as much as possible. Economic hardship that was expected to appear should be mitigated to the best ability, and the political measures to be taken should in no case weaken their hope for the future. Therefore, the existing rights of the natives to participate in the government should be extended.

The "bad" laws repugnant to the natives which had been introduced by the Westerners should be abolished. Native leaders should be appointed in important posts, thereby stimulating the hope and enthusiasm of the natives. Also their tradition should be respected, particularly the old legend and the worship of national heroes.

Undoubtedly, great difficulties in the daily life of the natives were expected to be inevitable but for the sake of war they were to be borne. Because of war situation no complaint should be considered, except by distributing lands belonging to the Wester-

ners, abolishing or reducing taxes and providing for the extension of the possibilities of intellectual development of the masses.

The "compassion" which, according to the former paragraph, should be shown towards the distress of the natives, did not apply to the Chinese. The unwilling should be expelled from the Sphere, others should severe relations with the Chungking Government and become good collaborators.

The document continued – in some short passages – with advice for respecting native customs, for assistance in the restoration of war damage and hygienic conditions. It seems that the dissemination of the Japanese language was nearer to the hearts of the composers of this memorandum: the Japanese language should be taught everywhere, so that it might become the "common language" of East Asia. English and Dutch were to be banned without further ado.

All these beautiful plans might easily be spoiled by the injudicious behaviour of the Japanese on the spot. Therefore, the document demanded strict selection and discipline among the Japanese, who would be sent to the new areas. They were to be considered as the pioneers of a later emigration. The great majority of the emigrants would be directed to Australia, but nowhere the members of the ruling nation should lose their identity. Wherever the Japanese would migrate, there should be Japanese schools for their children. The experts of the Institute understood, however, – what the Western people have understood too little – that officials and enterprisers were not the best suitable medium to spread the ruling culture. A Protestant or Catholic mission, as had been sent out from Europe and America for the spreading of Christianity and Christian Civilisation by unselfish men and women who desired to give a personal example of their life, would certainly not, by the very nature of the Japanese religious ideas, be able to operate spontaneously from the mother country. Therefore, the Institute proposed that "spiritual and cultural leaders" in Japan would be selected and trained for the missionary work. These missionaries, by their very spiritual riches, would be able to come into close contact with the actual life of the natives without the support of any power or authority as a background and become "teachers as well as friends of the natives through the reality of their

spiritual and cultural living" and thus make known True Japan to the new countries.

Indeed, a fine idea – in so far as True Japan was concerned. But the Japanese planners had little trust in the strength of the good without the suppression of the evil. Therefore, "injurious elements" would be "removed". Where, it was not said. Western propaganda should not be tolerated, hence strict censorship over the press and radio. Soviet propaganda – here we notice a remarkable difference – would be prevented and communistic movements be under "strict control." So, not to be suppressed forcibly? The solution was usually offered in a short paragraph: anti-Japanese movements that might not be "converted" should be simply "crushed".

In this connection the experts of the Institute were faced with the problems of admitting Christian evangelism. It seems they were not against Christendom, but "hostile English and American missionaries" (catholic or protestant) would be substituted by the natives. Moreover, a plan would be drawn up to send out Japanese missionaries.

Finally, "literary works of art and publications tending to imply the adoration of Europe and America" should be "strictly banned." A strong advice was also given for "a clean sweep" of the Sphere of all spiritual and intellectual personalities (also natives) who would not give up "their European and American feelings" (meaning thereby – mentality).

The same plan of February 18, 1942 also indicated what strategy, occupation and administrative policy should be followed during the first phase of the war for world empire. The directions can easily be deduced from the document quoted before: concentration on the destruction of the British power, co-operation with the Nanking regime in China and crushing the power of resistance of the Chungking Government, if the Generalissimo refused to come to an agreement, and temporarily utmost caution with regard to Russia. Evidently, the Institute foresaw the elimination of the United States after the success at Pearl Harbour for a considerable time, which, however, later on appeared to be the greatest miscalculation in the war of conquests. A few other passages in the document engage our attention: in the occupied areas auxiliary forces would be armed in a limited

number; these armies would be widely dispersed and the Japanese should remain concentrated; everywhere, in the territories to be annexed later (and these were to be treated less gently), native customs were to be respected.

A typical example of Japanese thinking on the construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere is provided by an article published by Hashimoto in the *Taiyo Dai Nippon* on January 5, 1942. According to the writer of this article, Hongkong, Malacca, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, Ceylon, Australia, New Guinea, New Zealand and the Middle Pacific Islands were to become Japanese territories. Manchuria, China, French Indo-China, British India, the Philippines, Afghanistan (with Baluchistan added), Burma (with Bengal added), Siam (with added parts of Burma and Malaya), and Java were to become so-called independent areas. The "independent" areas were to be supervised by Japanese advisers, military and diplomatic affairs remaining entirely in the hands of Tokyo.

The whole area, further stated by Hashimoto, was to be governed by an Upper Council of the Greater East Asia Sphere under Imperial leadership. The people of the Sphere were to be made thoroughly aware of its ideology. There was to be freedom of religion but Christianity was to be eliminated step by step, and the Tenno-cult to be vigorously introduced. The Japanese language was to become the leading language in the Sphere. [1]

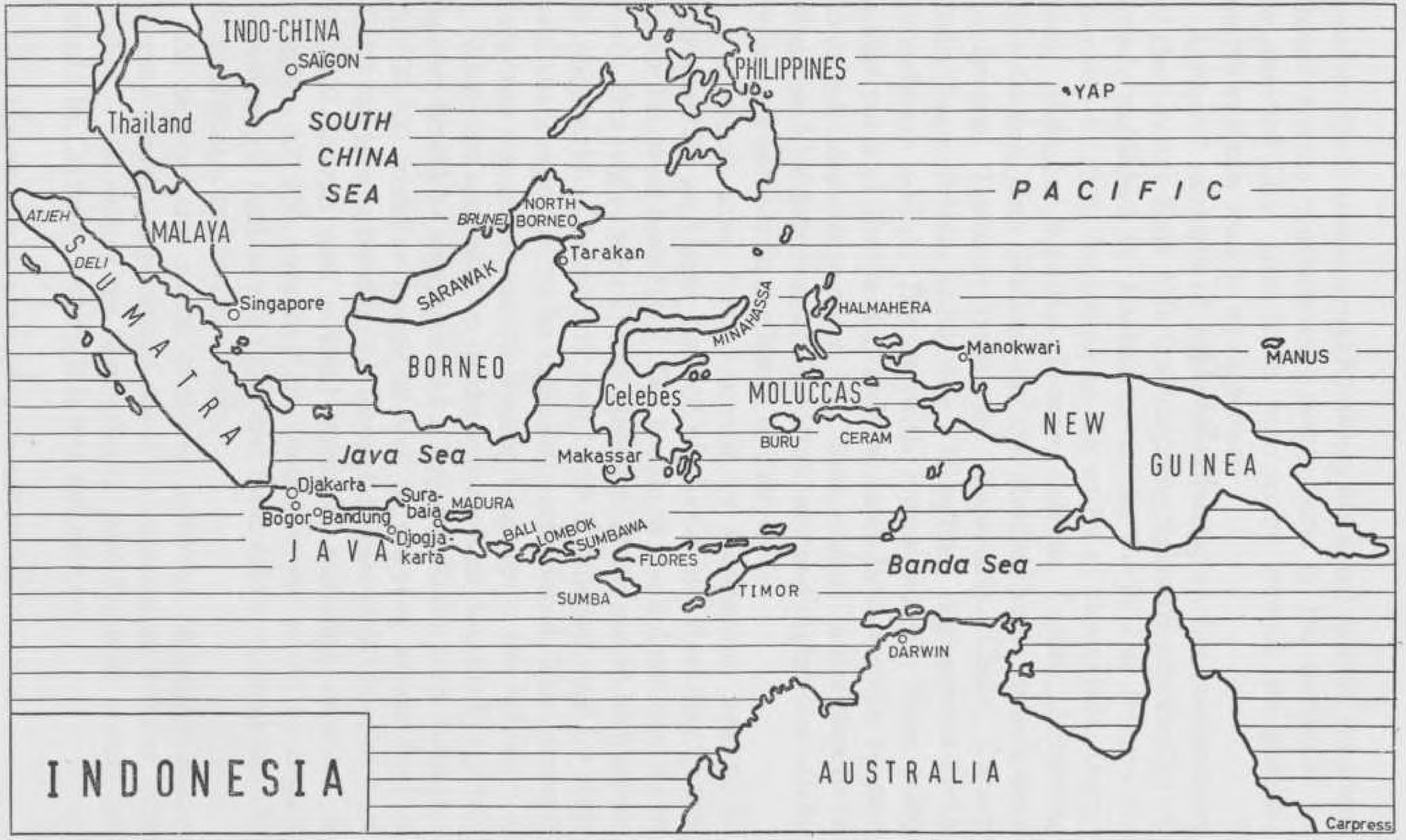
When the organisation of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere would be complete and a larger military force built up: 10,000,000 frontline troops as well as reserves, a war fleet of 5,300,000 tons, a frontline air force of at least 60,000 and at most 200,000 aircraft and a total strength, including reserves, of possibly 600,000 aircraft, [2] the second round could be begun, which would lead to the total and final defeat of England, the United States and Soviet Russia.

As soon as this result would be achieved (it might require twenty years), preparations could be commenced for the third round – the war of the hemispheres. And the only enemy left would be Germany – though it was not said so.

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 675A; *Timetable No.* 130.

[2] "Draft of Basic Plan for Establishment of Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere", January 27, 1942, *op. cit.*

PART II


INDO-CHINA
SAÏGON
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BRUNEI
NORTH
BORNEO
Tarakan
SARAWAK
Singapore
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MINAHASSA
HALMAHERA
Manokwari
MANUS
Celebes
MOLUCCAS
BURU
CERAM
NEW
GUINEA
Java Sea
Makassar
Djakarta
Bogor
Bandung
Sura-
baia
MADURA
Djogja-
karta
JAVA
BALI
LOMBOK
SUMBAWA
FLORES
Banda Sea
SUMBA
TIMOR
DARWIN
AUSTRALIA
INDONESIA
Carpress

CHAPTER I

PLANS FOR INDONESIA

Long before she launched an aggressive war in the Pacific in December 1941, Japan had cast her greedy eyes on the Netherlands East Indies, which occupy a position of striking importance – economically, strategically and politically in the whole of East and South East Asia. With an enormous area of 733,000 sq. miles or about five times as large as Japan proper, the East Indies were considered to be extremely valuable to Japan, particularly for the former's rich raw materials, such as oil, rubber, tin, bauxite, nickel, manganese and many others.[1] The supplies of these materials "were of such transcendent importance to Japan, especially for war purposes, that the military and other extremists in Tokyo had long since developed schemes for securing economic, if not political, control of these rich islands."[2]

Even during the First World War there were indications that the Japanese "were beginning to direct their thoughts southward."[3] "Articles began to appear in the Japanese press broadly hinting at the desirability of expansion in the East Indian archipelago, and the imperialistic policy Japan displayed toward China was not reassuring."[4] The acquisition by her of the former German colonies in the South West Pacific as mandates

[1] For an excellent analysis of the economic importance of the Indies see R. Emerson: "The Dutch East Indies Adrift", *Foreign Affairs, July 1940*, pp. 735–41. The Netherlands Indies "supplied about 31 per cent of the world's copra, 17 per cent of its tin, 33 per cent of its rubber, over 20 per cent of its sisal, and 29 per cent of its palm oil, in addition to large supplies of tea, cane sugar, and coffee, together with 85 per cent of the world's pepper, and practically all of its requirements in quinine". – *The World in March 1939* (Survey of Int. Affairs, 1939–1946), ed. by A. J. Toynbee & F. T. Ashton-Gwatkin, p. 94. The Indies stand fifth among the world's petroleum producers. Their 1939 output was 61,580,000 barrels –. "The Dutch East Indies Adrift", *op. cit.*, p. 738.

[2] *The Challenge to Isolation 1937–1940*, p. 584.

[3] *The Netherlands*, ed. by B. Landheer (The U.N. Series, Univ. of California Press, Berkeley 1946), p. 343.

[4] Amry Vandenbosch, *The Dutch East Indies* (Univ. of California Press, Berkeley 1944), p. 395.

of the League of Nations brought the Land of the Rising Sun nearer the East Indies Archipelago. In the intense international controversy that arose over the exploitation of the oil resources of the Indies after the First World War, the Japanese Government took keen interest and demanded, in a brief note, "for its nationals equality of opportunity if in the future they should apply for concessions." [1] All this coupled with Nippon's desire to increase her navy created suspicion among the Dutch as to her real intentions. Dutch fears had reached such an extent that Japan thought it necessary to allay the anxiety of the Dutch by extending the principles of the Four Power Treaty of December 13, 1921 to the Pacific possessions of the Netherlands, although the latter was not a party to this treaty. [2]

This, however, did not mean that Japan had given up her thoughts about the Netherlands East Indies. During the period of the expansion of inter-Pacific trade following the First World War, she had been able to acquire a substantial position in the Indies' import trade [3]. The economic disaster suffered by the Indies after the World Crisis of 1929 provided a further opportunity for Japan to establish her economic supremacy in the Archipelago. As Victor Purcell remarks: "The Japanese commercial penetration of the Netherlands Indies became a reality during the trade depression ...." [4] The devaluation of the *yen* in December 1931, the continued adherence by the Indies to the gold florin and above all, the policy of the Open Door pursued for sixty years by the Netherlands Government when nearly all other nations had abandoned it, seemed to serve Japan's

[1] *ibid.*, p. 396.

[2] On February 4, 1922 a solemn declaration was issued by each of the contracting Powers (The U.S.A., England, France and Japan) to the Washington Four-Power Treaty of December 13, 1921 that "the rights of the Netherlands in relation to their insular possessions in the region of the Pacific Ocean" would be respected. The notes thus addressed to the Netherlands Government by the four governments were word for word identical. The Netherlands Government received such official communication from the Japanese Government on February 5, 1922 (published on August 17, 1923) – *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 26; *Timetable No.* 2; See also Amry Vandenbosch, *op. cit.*, pp. 396–397.

[3] Imports from Japan to the Indies had increased from 1.25 per cent during 1909–1913 to 10.2 per cent during 1925–1929 of the total – J. van Gelderen, *The Recent Development of Economic Foreign Policy in the Netherlands East Indies* (Longmans, Green and Co., London 1939), p. 17. See also A. Neytzeil de Wilde and J. Th. Moll, *The Netherlands Indies during the Depression* (J. M. Meulenhoff, Amsterdam 1936), p. 57.

[4] *The World in March 1939, op. cit.*, p. 98.

interests well. Immediately after 1930 she began to flood the Indies with her cheap products. Before the economic crisis only ten items were imported from Japan; in 1934 it was "practically impossible to name any category of goods in which European and American industry could compete with that of Japan." [1] In the same year "the imports of the Indies from Japan exceeded the exports to Japan by seventy-four million guilders; or, in proportional figures, 31 per cent of the imports came from Japan and only 5 per cent of the exports went to that country." [2] The Dutch share of the Indies' total imports, which was over 32 per cent in the years immediately preceding 1913, had dropped to 9.5 per cent in 1933. [3] Thus it is not wholly an exaggeration to say that the Open Door, as a high East Indian official remarked, became "the entrance to the Japanese house!" [4]

The Japanese commercial invasion of the Indies, moreover, aimed at capturing the distribution business. The Japanese export trade formed only "a part of an all-Japanese business system to create" which had been "the declared purpose, both of commercial circles and of the Government of Japan." [5] Japan tried to consolidate her economic hold in the Indies through her nationals who had migrated there (7,195 according to the 1930 census) as a result of the propaganda carried out by organisations subsidized by the Japanese Government. The nature and extent of Japanese peaceful penetration into the Netherlands East Indies during the period of economic crisis is best described by Van Mook in the following words: "In the thirties penetration became definitely organized, and was pushed from behind by those semi-official, Government-sibsidized corporations like the Nanyo Kohatsu, whose ultimate aims were revealed by naval

[1] *Report of Java Bank, 1933–34*, p. 51. Quoted in J. S. Furnivall, *Netherlands India* (University Press, Cambridge, Gr. Britain 1944), p. 432. Furnivall gives a list of Japanese products imported into the Indies, both before and after the depression. Van Gelderen also remarks: "The Japanese goods were exceedingly cheap, often but not always, bad, but cheap, and therefore within the reach of the masses with their very limited income. By the low price of their wares, which was their sharpest weapon, as well as by their intimate knowledge of the market and of the psychology of the buyers, the Japanese succeeded in ousting the European goods from the local market" – p. 20.

[2] B. H. M. Vlekke, *Nusantara, A History of the East Indian Archipelago* (Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1945), p. 363.

[3] Amry Vandenbosch, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

[4] J. van Gelderen, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[5] *ibid.*, pp. 20–21.

and military participation. The rising flood of imports carried Japanese goods of Japanese importers in Japanese ships, financed by Japanese banks, to Japanese warehouses in the coastal towns of Java, to be sold directly to the consumers through Japanese retailers far in the interior. Japanese middlemen penetrated in East Java, South-East Borneo, and North Celebes to buy native products – maize, rubber, and copra – for export to Japan, Japanese fisheries started operations in the strategically important seas North of Batavia and around the Northern peninsula of Celebes, continually trespassing into territorial waters and causing several incidents. Mining, agricultural, and lumber rights, mostly of doubtful economic value, were bought or applied for in localities of military importance, e.g. the East and West coasts of Borneo and the Northern part of New Guineá. Small craft began to penetrate into coastal shipping." [1]

When a number of protective measures, such as licensing ordinances for imports and import business, a law on foreign labour, a law for the regulation of trade, a law on marine fisheries, immigration quota, shipping law, etc. were devised to restore the economic stability of the Indies, they "were decried in Tokyo as the instruments of an anti-Japanese policy." [2] Japan hoped to follow up her commercial penetration by a political one. That she had such ends in view is evident from the fact that she attempted to exploit the commercial conference, which was held at Batavia in 1934 at the request of the Japanese Government, for political purposes. Nagoaka, the chief of the Japanese delegation, wanted the negotiations to be conducted primarily in the interests of the native population. After six months of fruitless discussions negotiations had to be dropped because of the exaggerated Japanese demands for a share in the exploration and exploitation of the Outer Territories. A shipping conference at Kobe in 1935 likewise proved abortive owing to Japanese insistence that the Japanese language should be the official language of the conference. It is significant to note that all this

[1] H. J. van Mook, *The Netherlands Indies and Japan, Their Relations, 1940–1941* (George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London 1944), p. 19. Furnivall also states: "They (the Japanese) have invaded the sea-fisheries, obtained a concession in Borneo for oil, taken over a few sugar factories (though ceasing to work them, even before the crisis), established two silk factories, and have undermined the Dutch monopoly of cinchona by buying up native produce" – J. S. Furnivall, *op. cit.*, pp. 432–433.

[2] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

was in line with the general schemes of expansion fostered by the Nipponese Militarists. As early as 1932 Yosuke Matsuoka had expressed the view that New Guinea was to become a New Japan. [1] Japan did not give up her ambitions in spite of the stiff opposition, offered by the East Indies authorities. In March 1937 Heigoro Sakurai, of the Minseito Party, stated in one of the committees of the House of Representatives that New Guinea, which is more extensive in area than Japan proper, was in an undeveloped state and inquired whether the Japanese Government did not think it advisable to open negotiations with the Netherlands Government in order to obtain a perpetual lease of the territory. [2] As a result, "an atmosphere of nervousness was created, rumours of espionage were in the air." [3]

In view of the widespread suspicion created by her moves Japan decided in 1936 that "as for our development in the Dutch Indies, it is of the first necessity to eliminate her apprehension towards us and make her take a turn for pro-Japan. For this end, we must adopt suitable measures, and, if necessary, we shall not refuse to conclude a non-aggressive treaty with Holland." [4] This decision was in agreement with the Japanese-Dutch Treaty of Judicial Settlement, Arbitration and Mediation of April 19, 1933, which was ratified by Japan on August 12, 1935, and according to which a Permanent Reconciliation Commission was instituted on October 31, 1935. [5] This policy explains why Japan suddenly agreed to solve the shipping controversy and concluded in 1936 an agreement which provided for the division of the shipping business between the two countries. It was again in pursuance of this policy that in January 1937, Tanichiro Yoshida of the Japanese Foreign Office visited the Indies, "apparently in an attempt to dispel Dutch fears that there was a secret clause in the Japanese-German Anti-Comintern Pact of 1936 providing for the division of the Netherlands Indies into spheres of influence". [6] Japan further agreed to the Hart-Ishizawa

[1] B. H. M. Vlekke, *op. cit.*, p. 374; Amry Vandenbosch, *op. cit.*, pp. 399–401.
[2] Amry Vandenbosch, *op. cit.*, p. 404; *The World in March 1939*, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–99.
[3] J. van Gelderen, *op. cit.*, p. 22.
[4] Quoted in *Dissenting Judgment of Mr. Justice Röling, member for the Netherlands, Far East Military Tribunal*, p. 124.
[5] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. Nos.* 52 and 1307A; *Timetable Nos.* 3, 4 & 5.
[6] *The World in March 1939*, *op. cit.*, p. 99. See also *Survey of International Affairs, 1936*, p. 387, note – "There were rumours of a secret German-Japanese under-

agreement of April 9, 1937, although it definitely meant to check Japanese peaceful penetration into the Indies. By that year Japan's share in the Indies' imports had fallen to 15 per cent. [1]

While it was thus the professed policy of Nippon to maintain friendly relations with the Netherlands Indies, a subversive policy, opposed to her official assurances which were designed only to eliminate Dutch fears, was deliberately pursued in order to undermine the Dutch Authority. [2] As Japan's policy of expansion towards the South was assuming a reality with the occupation of Hainan and the Spratly Islands in the beginning of 1939, this policy was intensified. A large part of the Japanese population in the Indies, held closely under the control and supervision of the Japanese consular authorities through numerous organisations, took an active part in the gathering of information of military and economic importance. The collection and dispatch of this information to Tokyo was one of the main tasks of Japanese consuls and consular agents in the Indies. Japanese spies were attached as consular personnel to Japanese consulates. Besides, the Japanese army and navy each had its own agents in the more important places in the East Indies. [3]

Japanese nationals who were engaged particularly in the fishing industry in the Indies acted "as forerunners of Japanese expansionism and as auxiliaries to the Japanese Navy." [4] Those who operated at various key points throughout the Archipelago, were frequently found fishing in prohibited areas. They were found to be operating in waters in Northern Celebes near Manado, Southern Celebes near Makassar, New Guinea, East of Sumatra, the Western Coast of Borneo and in the area of Tarakan. Japanese government-controlled "developing companies" also started working in the strategic areas of the Indies.

The aim of inaugurating two oil tank installations on May 21,

standing for a partition of oceania and Indonesia, in which Germany was to be compensated at the expense of the Netherlands for the retention by Japan of Germany's former insular possessions in the Pacific north of the Equator".

[1] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

[2] For a detailed account of Japanese subversive activities in the Indies Archipelago during the decade preceding the invasion, see *Ten Years of Japanese Burrowing in the Netherlands East Indies* (Official report of the Netherlands East Indies Government, New York 1942).

[3] *Far East Mil. Tribunal Records*, pp. 11649–11650.

[4] *Ten Years of Japanese Burrowing*, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

1939 in the island of Molucca (Paloa group) was to expand the Japanese oil industry in Dutch New Guinea. [1]

An extensive propaganda was also at the same time launched towards winning over the native population of the Indies to the Japanese side. With the help of consular officials, the Japanese directed their attention to enlist the support of Indonesian and Chinese publishers and expended large sums in the form of advertising contracts to papers in the Indonesian, Dutch, or Chinese languages that were willing to accept Japanese propaganda material. [2] A Plan was even prepared by the Third Section of the Bureau for European and Asiatic affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Tokyo, dated May 30, 1938 for the publication by the Japanese of a paper in the Malay language in the Netherlands Indies. The Plan envisaged that the capital advance of Fl. 31,000 was to be considered as lost funds and a monthly deficit expected. The paper was to spread the Japanese propaganda among the native population. [3] Many Chinese were brought over from the Japanese-occupied parts of China for carrying on propaganda among the Chinese population in the Archipelago. Indonesian students were encouraged to go to Japan for study, so that they might be induced to give support to the Japanese Pan-Asiatic movement. Certain groups in Japan even began an Islamic movement and the theory was advocated that "Japan was going to save Islam"! [4] A close reading of the Japanese activities in the Indies during the thirties amply demonstrate Japan's intense desire to establish her domination over the Archipelago.

Hitler's resounding victories in Europe following the outbreak of the war in September 1939 "stirred the Japanese expansionists as nothing before .... As against the dreary outlook in China, alluring vistas opened before the Japanese in southern Asia and the Pacific." [5] Japan's eyes naturally fell on the rich Netherlands Indies, from which she "could hope to secure oil and other much-

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1326D; *Timetable No.* 11; *Ten Years of Japanese Burrowing, op. cit.*, p. 42.

[2] B. H. M. Vlekke, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

[3] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1326A; *Timetable No.* 9; *Ten Years of Japanese Burrowing, op. cit.*, p. 30.

[4] B. H. M. Vlekke, *op. cit.*, p. 371. See also *Ten Years of Japanese Burrowing, op. cit.*, pp. 25–26.

[5] *The Undeclared War, 1940–1941, op. cit.*, p. 3.

needed strategic materials." [1] Thus far she had been largely dependent on the U.S.A. for the supply of vital materials. [2] But since the abrogation of the Japanese-American Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of 1911 by the United States in July 1939 and the consequent termination of that treaty on January 26, 1940, Japan had been on the lookout for alternative sources of raw materials needed by her. She now thought that the Netherlands, faced with imminent German invasion, would be hardly in a position to obstruct her plans. "To many Japanese it seemed almost criminal to let slip so golden an opportunity for assuring the present and future needs of the national economy." [3] Japan, therefore, endeavoured, "through mingled cajolery and threats, to draw the Netherlands East Indies into her political and economic orbit." [4]

This attempt began on February 2, 1940, when the Japanese Government through her Minister at the Hague, presented a note to the Netherlands Government, requesting the latter to enter into discussions for the abolition or modification of restrictions on the existing Japanese import and export trade with the East Indies, on immigration, for granting Japan a greater share in the development of the Archipelago, and also for controlling the press and publications of anti-Japanese nature so as to create friendly relations between the two countries. [5] She had already (January 12, 1940) served notice on the Dutch Government of the denunciation of the arbitration treaty of 1933 between the two countries, which as a result expired in August. This action was obviously prompted by a desire on the part of the Japanese Government to free her hands for possible action against the Indies in order to take advantage of the rapidly-changing international situation. [6]

As events developed during the spring of 1940 it seemed that Tokyo was "genuinely apprehensive lest the United States, with

[1] *ibid.*

[2] In 1938 the U.S.A. accounted for the single highest percentage: 34.4 and 15.9 of Japan's total imports and exports respectively – *Chambers's Encyclopaedia, Volume VIII* (George Newnes Limited, London 1950), p. 27.

[3] *The Undeclared War, 1940–1941, op. cit.*, p. 3.

[4] F. C. Jones, *Japan's New Order in East Asia, Its rise and fall, 1937–45* (Oxford University Press for R.I.I.A., London 1954), p. 239.

[5] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1309A, p. 6; *Timetable No.* 14; H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–26; *The Challenge to Isolation, 1937–1940*, p. 585.

[6] Amry Vandenbosch, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

British approval and support, attempt to forestall possible Japanese action by assuming protection of the Indies at the behest of the Dutch Government."[1] Since Great Britain had retaliated to the German attack in Denmark on April 9 by landing troops in Iceland, Japan feared that a German invasion of the Netherlands might "lead to similar action with respect to the infinitely more valuable Dutch possessions in the Far East."[2] No sooner had Germany launched her aggression against Denmark and Norway than it was reported in the press that in the event of a Nazi attack on Holland, the East Indies would be placed under the protection of a great power which should be neither Great Britain nor Germany.[3] Japan at once took advantage of this report even though it was promptly denied in Washington. The report gave an opportunity to Foreign Minister Arita to emphasise Japan's interests, especially in the Netherlands East Indies and indicate in the veiled but significant language of diplomacy her policy towards the Indies in case Holland became involved in the European war. In a statement issued on April 15, 1940 Arita said: "With the South Seas region, especially the Netherlands East Indies, Japan is economically bound by an intimate relationship of mutuality in ministering to one another's needs. Similarly, other countries of East Asia maintain close economic relations with these regions. That is to say, Japan, these countries and these regions together are contributing to the prosperity of East Asia through mutual aid and interdependence.

"Should hostilities in Europe be extended to the Netherlands and produce repercussions in the Netherlands East Indies, it would not only interfere with the maintenance and furtherance of the above-mentioned relations of economic interdependence and of co-existence and co-prosperity, but would also give rise to an undesirable situation from the standpoint of the peace and stability of East Asia. In view of these considerations, the Japanese Government cannot but be deeply concerned over any development accompanying an aggravation of the war in Europe that may affect the *status quo* of the Netherlands East

[1] *The Challenge to Isolation 1937–1940*, p. 585.
[2] *ibid.*
[3] *New York Times, April 9, 1940*; Amry Vandenbosch, *op. cit.*, p. 406; B. H. M. Vlekke, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

Indies."[1] On the same day the Foreign Minister informed the Dutch Minister in Tokyo, Van Pabst, of Japan's deep concern over a possible change in the political status of the Indies. This view was also expressed the following day (April 16) by the Japanese Minister in the Hague to Van Kleffens, Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs. The whole procedure was clearly meant to advance Japan's claim to the Indies.

In spite of Van Kleffens' categorical assurance that his government neither had asked in the past nor would ask in the future for the assistance of any other power or powers in the defence of the Dutch East Indies and that it would refuse any such offer [2] and Secretary Hull's statement on April 17 [3], calling the attention of the Japanese Government to existing international agreements which explicitly recognised the rights of the Netherlands to her insular possessions in the Pacific area, the Japanese press started a campaign against the Netherlands and Netherlands Indies. The real Japanese views were now bluntly expressed. In a letter published in the *Kokumin Shimbun* (the Army organ at Tokyo) on April 24, the Netherlands were called "a rotten spot on earth"; and the *Hochi Shimbun* of Tokyo even demanded that Japan should take the initiative and invade the Indies without any delay. [4]

The German invasion of the Low Countries on May 10, 1940 had its immediate effects on Far Eastern affairs. Japan at once intensified her diplomatic offensive. The next day Arita once more reiterated the view that events in Europe had accentuated the deep Japanese anxiety over the status of the East Indies. [5] The landing of British and French forces, at the request of the Netherlands Government, in the Dutch Caribbean islands of Curacao and Aruba for safeguarding the important oil centres from acts of sabotage, aroused fresh suspicion in Japan. The action of the United States by ordering her fleet to Hawaii for manœuvers in April 1940 had already caused great resentment among the Japanese who took it to be an effort to bring pressure

[1] *Foreign Relations of the U.S.: Japan, II*, p. 281; *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1284; *Timetable No.* 15; Amry Vandenbosch, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

[2] April 16, 1940. *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1284; *Timetable No.* 16.

[3] *Foreign Relations of the U.S.: Japan, II*, pp. 281–282; *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1013; *Timetable No.* 17; Amry Vandenbosch, *op. cit.*, p. 407.

[4] *Ten Years of Japanese Burrowing*, *op. cit.*, p. 58; B. H. M. Vlekke, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

[5] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1285; *Timetable No.* 19.

on them.[1] Japan drew the conclusion that the Allied forces would occupy the East Indies and might jeopardize the flow of vital materials to her.[2] She now plainly asserted that she would not permit the Indies to change hands. On May 12, 1940 at the moment when the Netherlands were still in the midst of a life-and-death struggle with Nazi Germany, the Japanese Minister in the Hague presented a fresh memorandum, insisting on a speedy reply of the Japanese note of February 2, 1940 and demanding a guarantee that the Netherlands Indies would in the future continue to supply Japan with special war materials.[3] The governments of the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, fearing that this might presage some Japanese military move, informed Tokyo that they all would respect the *status quo* in the Dutch East Indies and had no intention of intervening in the Archipelago.[4] On May 15 the Netherlands Minister in Tokyo also told Arita that Great Britain, the U.S.A. and France had no intention of intervening in the East Indies. The next day Arita was further informed of the Indies Government's view not to place any restrictions in future on the exportation of mineral oil, tin, rubber and other raw materials which were of vital importance to Japan.[5]

Although the Japanese Ambassador in Washington, in a conversation with Cordell Hull on May 16, 1940, declared that his government was entirely satisfied with the identical declarations of the Powers with regard to the maintenance of the *status quo* of the Indies and that there was no purpose in raising this controversy any longer[6], the Japanese Government "cannot be acquitted of a design to bring the economic and political life of the Indies within its orbit."[7] Japan's insistence on the maintenance of the *status quo* there was undoubtedly inspired by her desire to keep everybody else out of the East Indies until she was in control of them. On May 18, 1940, three days after the capitulation of Holland, the Japanese Consul-General at

[1] *The Challenge to Isolation, 1937–1940*, p. 588.
[2] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, pp. 56–59; *The Challenge to Isolation, 1937–1940*, p. 590.
[3] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1309A; *Timetable No.* 21.
[4] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. Nos.* 1286 & 1288; *Timetable Nos.* 22, 24 & 25; *Foreign Relations of the U.S.: Japan, II*, pp. 285–288.
[5] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1309A; *Timetable No.* 26.
[6] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1288; *Timetable No.* 25.
[7] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

Batavia paid a visit to the Director of Economic Affairs, Dr. van Mook and delivered, in the words of the latter, "condolences, requests, and veiled threats almost in one and the same breath." [1] This was followed by fresh Japanese demands upon the East Indies. On May 20, 1940, Arita handed a note to the Dutch Minister in Tokyo, demanding a categorical promise that the specified minimum quantities of 13 vital raw materials should be exported to Japan annually from the Netherlands East Indies "under any circumstances that may arise in future" [2]. Among them demands for bauxite and oil were in far larger quantities than Japan had ever obtained from the Indies. She asked for 200,000 tons of bauxite, "all that the Indies produced and almost all Japan needed"; oil, 1 million tons, "almost double Japan's previous imports from the Indies. This was, however, only about one-seventh of the total production of the Indies and about one-fifth of what Japan needed." [3] More ominous still was the fact that Japan wanted the Netherlands Government to undertake to export the specified quantities of the specified materials to her *under any circumstances*. Obviously, she "was seeking to obligate the Indies to supply oil even if the United States stopped doing so. Should this happen, the American measure would be nullified. Even worse, the United States and the Indies would be separated from each other." [4]

In Japan there was great enthusiasm after the fall of the Netherlands, especially when Germany informed Tokyo on May 22, 1940 that she "was not interested in the problem of the Netherlands East Indies", which was considered as a *carte blanche* for Japan. [5] The German Government "seemed to waive any claim that it might have to the Indies as a result of the conquest of the Netherlands and to agree to any action that Japan might take." [6]

[1] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[2] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1309A: *Timetable No.* 28; H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–28. The specified quantities of thirteen raw materials were as follows: Tin (including ore) 3,000 tons; Rubber 20,000 tons; Mineral oil 1,000,000 tons; Bauxite 200,000 tons; Nickel ore 150,000 tons; Manganese ore 50,000 tons; Wolfram 1,000 tons; Scrap iron 100,000 tons; Chrome iron ore 5,000 tons; Salt 100,000 tons; Caster seeds 4,000 tons; Quinine bark 600 tons; and Molybdenum 1,000 tons – See H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[3] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[4] *ibid.*, p. 68.

[5] *ibid.*, p. 59; *The Challenge to Isolation 1937–1940*, p. 590; *Timetable No.* 29.

[6] Amry Vandenbosch, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

In other words, the Indies "were to be the private hunting ground of the Mikado." [1] A reading of the correspondence between Von Ribbentrop and his Ambassador in Tokyo, Ott, reveals that Germany thereby intended to prompt Japan to take over the Indies, in the hope that the United States would intervene in the Far East and thus be unable to exert her pressure on European affairs.

Japan, however, did not strike at the Indies at once as was expected by Germany. She was not yet ready for any military action against the Archipelago. Moreover, she hoped, it seems, that the "orphaned" Indies, now deprived of any effective help from the exiled Dutch Government in London, would have no other alternative but to yield to her pressure. She, therefore, demanded, on May 28, 1940, for an immediate reply to her notes of February 2 and May 20. As the policy of the Netherlands Government was to avoid a direct rebuff to Japan necessitated by circumstances, their answer of June 6 was extremely cautious. [2] The Netherlands offered to provide essential raw materials but "refused to let the Japanese obtain a larger place in the economic life of the Indies, or control of a larger part of its resources." [3]

That Japan did not at all feel satisfied with the conciliatory Dutch answer of June 6 and was waiting for a more opportune moment seemed to be quite obvious. She rejected the secret American proposal of June 24, 1940 that Japan and the United States should once more affirm their intention to maintain the *status quo* of the Pacific territories of the European Powers by means of a special pact. She was, however, prepared, if necessary, to guarantee the *status quo* of the Philippines. [4] This action of Japan was, in reality, motivated by her desire to hold her hands free in the Southern Regions, especially in the Dutch East Indies. As soon as the French Indo-Chinese authorities yielded to Japanese demands, she renewed her pressure on the Indies. On June 28, 1940 she once again asked for a definite undertaking by the Dutch Government and the Governor-General of the Indies to export annually to Japan, under any circumstances, at least the specified quantities of materials. [5] The next day came

[1] B. H. M. Vlekke, *op. cit.*, p. 376.
[2] See H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, pp. 29–36.
[3] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 68.
[4] *Timetable No.* 34.
[5] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37.

Foreign Minister Arita's open declaration, which clearly revealed Japan's ambition to establish a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, consisting of East and South East Asian countries. "Japan apparently was resolved to make full use of the opportunities created by the defeat of Holland, the downfall of France, the seemingly hopeless position of Great Britain, and the internal dissensions in the United States." [1]

The moment for action appeared to have arrived, as expressed by the Army, Navy and Foreign Office representatives after a four-day secret conference (July 12–16). Hitler had already declared his disinterestedness in the Indies. This prompted Japan to inform the Dutch Ambassador in Tokyo on July 16, 1940 that the Imperial Government desired to send a delegation to Batavia to negotiate a comprehensive settlement. [2] After the surrender of Holland, Japan did not send her diplomatic representative there to London, where the Netherlands Government had moved, since she eagerly awaited the capitulation of England. The aim of entering into political as well as economic talks in Batavia was obviously to detach the East Indies from the Netherlands Government in London and bring the islands under complete Japanese control by piecemeal infiltration. [3] This is borne out by the fact that Consul-General Saito in Batavia was instructed by Matsuoka, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that negotiations were to be entered upon directly with the Netherlands Indies Government and that all efforts of obstruction from Great Britain and the United States were to be carefully observed. [4] That Japan wanted to use the negotiations to further her own selfish interests in the Netherlands East Indies is also clear from the statement of General Koiso, who was a vigorous advocate of expansion and who was at first proposed by the Konoye Cabinet as the head of the Japanese delegation. In an interview with the Japanese press on August 3 he said that the indigenous population of the Indies had long been oppressed and exploited by the Dutch régime. "We cannot", he

[1] B. H. M. Vlekke, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

[2] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1309A; *Timetable No.* 36; Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[3] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[4] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1314; *Timetable No.* 45 – Telegram from Minister of Foreign Affairs, Matsuoka to Consul-General Saito, Batavia, September 3, 1940.

declared, "tolerate such a condition – it is necessary to emancipate the oriental races." [1]

Before the negotiations started in Batavia on September 16, 1940 the Japanese had already prepared (on August 14, 1940) the draft of their demands to the Netherlands East Indies, which doubtless reveals that they would have been satisfied with nothing less than complete tutelage over the Dutch possessions. The Netherlands Indies were to cut off all relations with Europe, recognise Japan's predominant political influence and economic interests and become a member of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere to be established under the leadership of Japan. [2]

While the talks were in progress in Batavia [3], Japanese planners in Tokyo were busy in their work on the plans for the projected Co-Prosperity Sphere. The rich prize had been promised to them under the Tripartite Alliance, and in 1940 they still hoped that it might be possible to bring the East Indies within the Co-Prosperity Sphere without war by means of diplomacy and display of power. They, however, did not rule out the possibility of military action in case a peaceful attempt failed. But they anticipated little resistance from the Dutch East Indies once Singapore had been occupied. It would then be possible to determine the future status of the Indies as a member of the Co-Prosperity Sphere. The area would declare its independence and "announce an appropriate name for itself", based on the plea that the Dutch Government in London dit not exist according to international law. The government and constitution were to be set up by a committee composed of Japanese, Dutch people born there, natives and Chinese. But the committee was to be formed in such a ratio that the total number of Japanese and native representatives would comprise more than half of the total. The Governor-General and all Dutch officials of the highest rank would keep their official titles, honours and pay. If any of the important natural resources were destroyed, all persons connected with that, including ten government-officials, would

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1309A; *Timetable No.* 40; H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 39; Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[2] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1311; *Timetable No.* 42, August 14, 1940 (Draft of Japanese Demands regarding the Dutch East Indies).

[3] See next Chapter: "Preparations for Conquest: Negotiations".

be most severely punished, which would be announced in advance as widely as possible by the radio. If possible, a timely independence movement was to be encouraged among the natives before the above-mentioned change in the status of the Indies could be brought about.

After the declaration of independence, a protective treaty under the name of military alliance was to be concluded. Japanese military and economic advisers were to be appointed in key positions and strategically-important places to be leased. [1] Japanese domination was thus to be established in the Netherlands Indies.

Japanese leaders believed that they would be able to bring the Indies into their Co-Existence and Co-Prosperity Sphere by means short of war and that Japan should be ready for this. In a telegram to Foreign Minister Matsuoka on October 18, 1940, Kobayashi, leader of the Japanese delegation in Batavia, said: Because the Netherlands Indies should be brought inside the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere under the leadership of Japan, it was necessary to provide in the budget for the next fiscal year, for instance, for the complete equipment of overseas organisations, the foundation of a training centre for the Southern Areas and the propaganda among Japanese nationals and the peoples of the Indies (including secret funds) [2].

A few days later, on October 25, 1940, the Japanese Cabinet approved a 15-point programme for Japan's participation in the economic development of the Indies, the subject of which the Japanese delegation was then negotiating in Batavia. This programme known as "Measures for the Economic Development of the Netherlands East Indies" was an elaboration of the rough draft of initial demands, which had been drawn up on August 14, 1940, going into greater details as to the various measures to be taken. According to this cabinet decision all economic measures would be formulated from the broader viewpoint of establishing the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and from the recognition of Japan's dominant position in the Indies by virtue of the Tripartite Pact. It was approved that measures would be taken:

[1] *Hoover Doc. No.* 837A, *op. cit.* ("Outline of Japanese Foreign Policy", Sept. 28, 1940 with further elaboration "Tentative Plan for Policy towards Southern Regions", October 4, 1940. Summary in *Timetable Nos.* 51 and 53).

[2] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1313; *Timetable No.* 57.

1. to liquidate the Netherlands Indies' economic relations with European and American continents so that she might become a member of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere;

2. to remove the various existing restrictions on the economic activities of Japan so as to enable her to secure preferential treatment for herself;

3. to arrange for the joint development by Japan and the Netherlands of the Netherlands Indies in order to supply the Empire with the necessary raw materials; if necessary, to lease or purchase suitable islands or regions;

4. to increase the allotments of important materials already promised to the Empire and to place the supervision of merchandise especially tin, rubber, quinine, etc. in Japanese hands;

5. to purchase as far as possible those agricultural products, which were sources of income to the natives and to stimulate their purchasing power in order to translate co-existence and co-prosperity into reality;

6. to increase the export of Japanese merchandise to the Indies;

7. to make the Netherlands Indies a part of the monetary sphere of the Greater East Asia area under Japanese leadership. This should be achieved not by absorption of the *yen bloc*, but by placing the Exchange Control under Japanese supervision and granting credits as well as other financial facilities by the Netherlands Indies' banks to the Japanese;

8. to secure the following special rights and interests with regard to traffic and communications:

a. the right of coastal trade, the right of entering unopened ports and the right of administering and using port facilities,
b. the landing and operating right of submarine cables, the right of participating in the management of inland communication enterprises,
c. the inauguration of regular air services and the right of instituting air safety equipment;

9. to build a stable fishery position in the South by increasing the number of fishing boats, abolishing restrictions at ports of import of fish, establishing fishery bases and acquiring other rights and interests pertaining to the conducting of the marine product industry;

10. to prohibit the establishment of new rights and interests of third Powers in the Netherlands Indies and to endeavour to oust those already in existence likely to obstruct the expansion of the Japanese Empire;

11. to make the Indies institute an Economic Constructional Commission in which Japanese would be included and which would formulate and execute internal and external economic policies of the Dutch East Indies for strengthening economic collaboration with the Empire with regard to trade, finance, taxation, customs duties, economic agreements with third countries, enterprises, traffic and communications, etc.;

12. to demand the strict control of anti-Japanese commentaries by newspapers and other periodicals, at the same time ensuring freedom to Japanese to publish newspapers;

13. to exercise rigid control over Chinese residents assuming pro-Chiang Kai-shek and anti-Japanese attitudes;

14. to invite the influential natives to Japan to whom the "true aspect of the Empire" would be propagated to ensure the economic development of the Empire.

15. Lastly, the economic policy should be based upon the broad viewpoint of establishing the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and efforts should be made towards expanding the interests of the Empire in harmony with the natives. [1]

The plan thus reveals the extent of Japan's ambitions in the Netherlands Indies. It was "a diagram of the economic tendrils by which Japan hoped to embrace the Indies within Greater East Asia." [2] The interests of the Indies in the Co-Prosperity Sphere were to be completely subordinated to those of the Empire. In short, the plan essentially aimed at the expansion of the Japanese Empire into the East Indies by ousting the Dutch.

Japan's objective found further expression in an article written by Oshima in the *Yo-Miuri Shimbun*, dated October 27, 1940, in which he stated that the Tripartite Pact was a clear recognition to Japan's mission in the South and that Japan must take concrete steps to establish her leadership in Greater

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1317; *Timetable No.* 62: "Measures for the Economic Development of the Netherlands East Indies", October 25, 1940.

[2] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

East Asia by expanding to the South. This must be done by diplomacy, or by war, if diplomacy fails. [1] That the Netherlands East Indies formed a part of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was for the first time publicly declared by Japan on January 21, 1941 [2], and instructions were sent out on January 28 to the Japanese delegation in Batavia that in no case should official statements deny this fact. [3] Japan further emphasised that in future she would exercise exclusive authority in the Indies and that even her Axis Partner, Germany, would not be allowed to negotiate directly with them. [4]

Japan's dream of bringing the East Indies, which were to the Japanese "perhaps the finest pearl in the prospective colonial booty", [5] within the Co-Prosperity Sphere through "peaceful" means, however, ended in frustration with the formal breakdown of the prolonged negotiations with the Netherlands East Indies Government on June 17, 1941. But this did not divert the Land of the Rising Sun from her fixed aims. Force now remained the only alternative to solve the whole issue, and Japan accepted this alternative on November 5, 1941 when the Imperial Conference decided to start hostilities with the Western Powers for the creation of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. It is significant to note that this conference also decided, *inter alia*, that after the occupation, a part of the Indies would be made "independent", the remaining would be directly incorporated into the Japanese Empire. [6]

The guiding principles to be followed in the administration of the occupied areas were then approved at the Liaison Conference held on November 20, 1941. [7] These principles, which provided for military administrations in the areas, were also to be followed in the Dutch East Indies. For the economic control and exploitation of the occupied Indies, the economic measures, contained in the Sixth Committee's Plan, called the "Outline of the Eco-

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1299–A; *Timetable No.* 63.
[2] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1300: *Timetable No.* 69; H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 71: Foreign Minister Matsuoka's speech in the Diet on January 21, 1941.
[3] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1302; *Timetable No.* 71: Telegram from Foreign Minister Matsuoka to the Japanese delegate in Batavia, dated January 28, 1941.
[4] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1304; *Timetable No.* 78: March 21, 1941.
[5] *The Undeclared War, 1940–1941, op. cit.*, p. 52.
[6] *Timetable No.* 108.
[7] See Chapter VI (Part. I).

nomic Counter-Plans for the Southern Area", of December 12, 1941, [1] were to be adopted. As to the future status of the Indies, plans were prepared both by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of War. It seems, however, that there existed little unanimity between the two with regard to the ultimate disposal of these territories.

As basic policies, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs envisaged [2] the establishment of Japanese military bases in the area, co-operation with Japan in foreign policy and national defence by the state newly to be founded, close economic collaboration with Japan and elimination of European and American influences from the whole of the area. The right of the native population to independence was rather liberally recognised in this plan ("respecting to the utmost the desire of the southern people for emancipation and independence") but always with the reservation of Japan's right to annex any region considered to be necessary for the defence of the Empire or the backwardness of the natives.

An Indonesian Federation was to be set up, composed of three states (Java including Madura, Bali and Lombok; Sumatra; and Celebes including the Moluccas and the Lesser Sunda Islands but excluding Timor) and three dependent areas: Borneo, New Guinea and Timor, but the government of these areas was to be entrusted to Japan. [3] Strategically important islands, such as the Riouw and Lingga Archipelago, the Anambas and Natuna Islands were to become Japanese colonies and administered by the Japanese Governor-General at Singapore. It appears that the Foreign Affairs experts had in view the instructions of the Imperial Conference of November 5 and followed them closely and cautiously.

The first of the two documents presented by the Research Section of the Ministry of War, also in December 1941, [4] emphasised the expulsion of Anglo-Saxon rule, the elimination of all British, American and Dutch influences in South East Asia and the development of the natural resources of those areas by their

[1] *ibid.*
[2] *Hoover Doc. No.* 1112A, *op. cit.*
[3] The English text speaks of "Dominions". This is undoubtedly a wrong translation.
[4] *Hoover Doc. No.* 1987B, *op. cit.*,

inhabitants under Japanese guidance for the benefit and defence of the Japanese Empire. The second document, which detailed the political division of the Empire to be created, provided the establishment of an "East Indian Kingdom", embracing all Dutch possessions and the territories of British Borneo, Labuan Island, Sarawak, Brunei, Cocos Island, Christmas Island, Andaman Islands, Nicobar Islands and Portugese Timor. Thus the Netherlands Indies, as conceived by the Ministry of War, were to be a part of the larger East Indian Kingdom within the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. This "independent" kingdom was to enjoy self-government in internal affairs, [1] and Japan was to remain in control of defence and foreign affairs.

It was the task of the Total War Research Institute to detail the various measures in the field of strategy, policy, economy, culture and propaganda for the consolidation and construction of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. [2] These measures were also to be adopted in the East Indies.

It seems that the experts of the Research Institute were not deeply interested in the political development of the East Indies Archipelago. According to them, all other considerations were to be subordinated to the economic exploitation of the area. A firm grip on the islands was to be maintained. Steps were to be taken to change gradually the attitude of the Indonesians towards the Dutch. Japanese authorities and civilians were to be instructed not to feel themselves superior to the Indonesians and treat them with disdain. Neither should they spoil the natives by showing too much eagerness to win their friendship.

The Indonesians would be given the hope of independence at a "suitable time" after the end of the war. The new state, when it materialised, would assume the form of an Indonesian Federation and be placed under the protection of Japan. The conception of this federation appear to be more Java-centred. "The area centering around Java", says the document of January 27, 1942, "has, it is recognised, a comparatively high standard of culture, and also has carried on a rather intensive campaign

[1] Article 6 of *Hoover Doc. No.* 1987B says: "self-government for internal affairs will be gradually granted".

[2] See Chapter VI (Part I).

for independence. Culturally and politically (Javanese) independence is recognised to be appropriate." The rest of the Archipelago would require "considerable protection and interference", since it "is generally an area of primitive barbarity." Thus, as to the nature of the federation, the Institute Plan was not in complete agreement with that of the Foreign Ministry.

CHAPTER II

PREPARATIONS FOR CONQUEST: NEGOTIATIONS

It is indeed amazing that about sixteen months before the invasion of the Dutch East Indies the shrewd Nipponese, in pursuance of their policy of incorporating the Archipelago within the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere by peaceful means, resorted to an ingenuous technique of economic negotiations.[1] It was only when they failed to persuade the Indies Government to accept their conception of the Co-Prosperity Sphere that they thought of military action against the Archipelago.

The Japanese delegation, composed of twenty-four "technicians", including one Army, one Air and two Naval officers[2] and headed by the Minister of Commerce and Industry, Ichiro Kobayashi reached Batavia on September 12, 1940. The Netherlands Government appointed Dr. van Mook, Director of Economic Affairs, as Minister-Plenipotentiary to lead the Indies delegation. Originally, the Japanese Government insisted that, as Japan was sending a cabinet minister, the Governor-General of the Indies should be invested with wide powers of discretion to conduct the negotiations. The Dutch, however, firmly refused to accede to this demand, since it was considered to be a hint that they would be led to discuss political rather than technical economic questions[3]

During his very first audience with the Governor-General, Jonkheer Tjarda van Starkenborgh Stachouwer, Kobayashi made the aim of his mission clear. He stressed "the necessity of closer co-operation between the Netherlands Indies and Japan, which he regarded as an inevitable consequence of the changed

[1] For a full account of the negotiations during 1940–1941, see H. J. van Mook, *The Netherlands Indies and Japan, Their Relations, 1940–1941* (1944).

[2] *ibid.*, p. 39.

[3] *ibid.*, pp. 39–40.

circumstances." [1] In vain he attempted to force the conversation to the political field.

It soon appeared that a fundamental difference of opinion as to the character of the negotiations would hardly produce any tangible results. Although the Dutch agreed to a conference, they had always objected to negotiations of a general or political nature. [2] The Japanese Government, however, kept the subject-matter of the discussions deliberately vague because of their far-reaching ambitions in the East Indies. The first meeting of both delegations on September 16, 1940 revealed that the Japanese had as yet little to propose for practical discussion. They only emphasised that the Indies, realising her "forlorn" condition, should recognise the need of close economic and political co-operation with Nippon, and hence should now "shake hands firmly" with her. It was also pointed out that if agreement could be reached on this idea, the Japanese delegation could have worked out the details of the relations between the two countries. [3]

As discussions progressed, Japanese demands became more defined. About a week after the opening of the conference they specified their demands for the purchase of oil. They asked for 3,150,000 tons annually, over and above the usual quota of 600,000 tons. A guarantee of a regular supply of these minimum requirements for a period of five years was also demanded from the East Indies Government. [4]

It seems that the main objective of the Japanese delegation lay elsewhere. They were particularly interested in securing oil concessions and control of the oil companies in the Indies. What Japan aimed at was to enlarge her foothold in the Archipelago, which is revealed in a telegram of September 3, 1940 from Foreign Minister Matsuoka to Consul-General Saito in Batavia and another from Kobayashi to Matsuoka of September 18, 1940. [5] That the Japanese delegation attempted to conduct the

[1] *ibid.*, p. 42.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 38; Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
[3] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 43.
[4] *ibid.*, pp. 45–46; Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 104.
[5] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. Nos.* 1314 and 1315; *Timetable Nos.* 45 and 48; F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 244. Saito was instructed by Matsuoka that in the oil negotiations with the Indies, emphasis should be laid on the acquisition of oil fields. In a telegram of September 18 Kobayashi informed Matsuoka that an eventual failure of the nego-

negotiations with this end in view was quite obvious. In a letter of September 24, 1940 Mukai [1], Japanese delegate in charge of oil negotiations, requested the Indies delegation "to give me and my party informations as minutely as possible and provide us with useful pieces of reference, and furthermore, to afford us opportunities for actual study of oil producing districts and refineries, and to introduce me and my party to the concerned." [2]

The Indies Government, however, could well understand Japanese intentions. Since they did not themselves produce oil, they "refused to be a broker between the Japanese buyer and the oil companies." [3] The Royal Dutch Shell (British-Dutch) and the Standard Vacuum (American) interest produced all the oil of the East Indies, the former about three-fourths and the latter one-fourth of the production. [4] Hence, the question of oil purchases was referred to the oil-producing companies. With regard to the request for granting all facilities to study oil-producing districts and refineries, the Indies delegation explained that "visits to the refineries and the oil fields can only be granted by the respective owners and that the Government, although its officers are free to inspect all the mining enterprises in the Netherlands Indies, has no power to grant such a right to third parties." [5] The Japanese delegation was thus faced with a strong Dutch attitude.

Meanwhile, the conclusion of the Tripartite Pact on September 27, 1940 had added further misgivings about Japanese aims in the Indies. The Dutch delegation was, however, still prepared to continue the negotiations provided Japan made a categorical statement that she did not regard the Indies as falling within her *lebensraum* and that she did not claim leadership in the East Indies. A general meeting of both delegations was, therefore, arranged between October 14–16, 1940 to clarify the situation. There were rather "violent discussions" about the Japanese contention that the Dutch delegation, especially in the matter of

tiations about the purchase of oil would be used to compel the Dutch East Indies to grant oil concessions and also to sell the shares of the East Indies in the oil companies to Japan.

[1] T. Mukai was the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Mitsui Company.

[2] From the text of the letter published in H. J. van Mook, *op cit.*, p. 47.

[3] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 130. See also *The Undeclared War, 1940–1941*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[4] Amry Vandenbosch, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

[5] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

oil purchases, was acting on instructions from Washington. Although it was true to some extent that "Washington had tutored the oil companies", [1] which were negotiating with the Japanese buyers, the Japanese delegation eventually subscribed to a joint communiqué, issued on October 16 at Batavia, in which, *inter alia*, it was said: "In spite of the tripartite treaty recently concluded among Japan, Germany and Italy, the strong desire of Japan for the maintenance and promotion of the friendly relations between Japan and the Netherlands Indies is not affected. All what is wished for by Japan is co-existence and co-prosperity with neighbouring countries." [2]

The reasons why Japan agreed to issue such a statement are not far to seek. She felt it necessary to allay the Indies' suspicion about her true intentions, delay the arming of the Indies, and above all, ensure a continuous flow of raw materials from the East Indies not only to accelerate her own war preparations but also to provide Germany, her partner in the Tripartite Pact, with materials essential for the prosecution of the European war. Indeed, promises were made by Japan to Germany that rubber, tin and other materials would be obtained for her from the Southern Regions. That the former extended such an offer to the latter is revealed in the memorandum of Wiehl [3], dated October 8, 1940, about an interview with the Japanese Ambassador in Berlin. The memorandum says: Germany would be pleased to use the Japanese offer to buy raw materials from the Netherlands Indies for her and she had placed at the disposal of Japan three million Reichsmark in foreign currency for tin, rubber and castor oil and one million for spices. [4]

The joint statement of October 16 was followed by an agreement on October 18, which was finally signed on November

[1] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

[2] Text of the Joint Statement published in H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[3] Wiehl was the economic adviser of von Ribbentrop.

[4] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 597; *Timetable No.* 56. A telegram of February 9, 1941 from German Ambassador Ott in Tokyo to the German Minister of Foreign Affairs in Berlin further confirms the Japanese desire to help the German war efforts with raw materials from the Indies. It was stated in that telegram that Japan was honestly willing to assist Germany with rubber and other raw materials of South East Asia. She even asked what quantities of rubber would still be required by Germany on top of 25,000 tons which had already been promised from Indo-China. *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 631; *Timetable No.* 56. See also *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1304; *Timetable No.* 78.

12. The oil-producing companies agreed to supply annually a total of 1,800,000 tons of oil. Japan thus contented herself to accept from the Indies about half of what she had asked, and even in that half there was to be little aviation gasoline [1] which she needed most, due to American restrictions. Moreover, the demand for a guarantee had been dropped. The contract was to be valid only for six months, although it was renewed in May 1941 for another six months. "Nothing came of their efforts to secure a measure of control over the oil industry, while their suggestions for friendly co-operation in the larger sphere were politely ignored." [2]

Kobayashi left for Japan on October 22, ostensibly because he could no longer be spared from his Ministry; in reality, because his mission of bringing the Netherlands East Indies into the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere had miserably failed. Even before the commencement of the negotiations he could anticipate his ultimate failure. While reporting to Matsuoka on September 13, 1940 about his interview with the Governor-General of the Indies, he said: "The Governor-General .... openly tried to do his utmost to evade political problems. He evinced not the slightest sign of fervour to try to sound out the true intention of the Japanese Government towards the Dutch East Indies .... It has made me feel that I have come all this way in vain." [3]

Foiled in their attempts at securing additional oil, the Japanese now concentrated on their main objective: the acquisition of rights to seek and develop oil in the Indies. Clearly emphasising that "the proposed quantity of supply of aviation gasoline and aviation crude to Japan [in accordance with the Agreement of October 18, 1940] to which Japan attaches a great importance, is as good as nil" [4] the Japanese delegation insisted on granting oil exploitation and exploration rights to Japan in the areas which had already been explored and also which had been reserved for the Indies Government. [5] The Japanese delegation

[1] Of 1,800,000 tons, 1,040,000 tons were to be crude oil and 760,000 tons refined, Amry Vandenbosch, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

[2] *The Undeclared War, 1940–1941*, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[3] Tel. from Kobayashi to Matsuoka, September 13, 1940, *Far East Mil. Trib.*, *Exh. No.* 1312; *Timetable No. 47*.

[4] See the text of the Japanese Note of October 21, 1940 published in H. J. van Mook *op cit.*, pp. 60–61.

[5] *ibid.*

defined their wishes more explicitly in their notes of October 29, 1940.[1] They wanted to be allowed to carry on explorations and exploitations in future in large areas of Borneo, Celebes, Dutch New Guinea, the Aru Archipelago and Schouten Archipelago. The following districts and areas, which had not yet been "committed to any other party or parties", were to be "considered as an interest for Japan":

1. Borneo – the districts of Kaliorang and Kutai	about	1,300,000 ha.[2]
2. Celebes – the district opposite to the Pelang Island	,,	163,000 ,,
3. Dutch New Guinea:		
North-eastern Shoreland . .	,,	1,200,000 ,,
Middle-eastern interior . . .	,,	3,500,000 ,,
South-eastern Shoreland . .	,,	9,000,000 ,,
4. Aru Archipelago, south-east to Dutch N. Guinea	,,	850,000 ,,
5. Schouten Archipelago, north-east to Dutch N. Guinea	,,	350,000 ,,
Total	about	16,363,000 ha.

The Indies Government was asked to acknowledge the whole of these areas as Japan's sphere of interest.

Furthermore, "in view of the rapid increase in the demand of petroleum in Japan", the undermentioned areas were to be assigned to the Japanese interests in addition to the abovementioned regions:

1. Borneo:		
An area, opposite to the Tarakan Island, northward from the Bengara River to the boundaries of British North Borneo	about	400,000 ha.

[1] Text published in H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, pp. 61–63.
[2] ha = hectare = 2.471 acres.

2. Sumatra:

An area extending south-eastwards from Medan and along the River Asahan	about	700,000 ha.
Total	about	1,100,000 ha.

The Notes of October 29 also expressed Japan's intense desire not only to exploit directly the petroleum resources of the Dutch East Indies but also to participate in the capital of the East Indies' oil companies. The Indies Government was further asked to consider the allotment of part of the government shares in the oil companies to Japan.

It is significant to note that the selection of areas for oil concessions was not entirely based on hopes of finding oil. In this the Japanese delegation (it included military advisers) was also obviously guided by military considerations. Indeed, these oil concessions were intended to serve as bases not only for economic exploitation but also for a military foothold, which would facilitate the ultimate domination of the Netherlands East Indies. This view is corroborated by the telegram of Saito to Foreign Minister Matsuoka on October 25, 1940. According to this telegram, Saito pleaded complete acceptance by the Japanese of the Dutch offer of unexploited oil fields, in order to neutralise the suspicion of the Indies, which would undoubtedly be aroused when large numbers of Japanese planes and plain clothes-troops would visit those areas for making them into strategic bases. He further insisted that even if the Japanese Government asked for a few fields, those should be selected according to strategic demands. [1]

However, the Indies delegation referred the Japanese proposals to the Mining Department and refused to hurry the study. It declined to proceed in a "piecemeal fashion" and preferred to wait until a complete agenda could be agreed upon. [2] By the middle of November 1940 it appeared that "the Japanese government was not only balked but so undecided that the [Japanese] delegates were without instructions." [3] Taking advantage of

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1316; *Timetable No.* 61; Herbert Feis. *op. cit.*, pp. 130–131.
[2] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 63.
[3] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

this fact the Dutch Minister in Tokyo handed an *aide mémoire* on November 15, 1940 to Ohashi, Japan's Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, drawing the attention of the Japanese Government to the fact that the negotiations had come to a standstill for lack of subject-matter and suggesting at the same time that they be formally discontinued. [1]

Japan, however, was not prepared to admit defeat. In a *note verbale* on November 20, 1940 she announced the imminent appointment of a new special envoy who would continue the negotiations. On November 28, 1940 K. Yoshizawa, a former Foreign Minister and a member of the House of Peers, was formally appointed as the successor of Kobayashi. [2]

The interval of more than two months, from the departure of Kobayashi till the arrival of Yoshizawa, was exploited by Japan for other purposes. She had noticed with great uneasiness the ever-increasing widening of the ban on exports to Japan by the United States along with the stiff attitude of the Dutch East Indies. In case the United States stopped the supply of oil, which was called "a matter of life and death", she must be ready to take forcible possession of the resources of the Netherlands East Indies. Hence, during this period when there was a lull in the negotiations, the large staff of the Japanese delegation and of the Consulate General, who all enjoyed diplomatic privileges and immunities, were "as busy as bees" in collecting data not only of a purely economic nature but also of military strategy, necessary for landing operations. At the same time Japanese propaganda was intensified, making the most of the oil deal and threatening the "haughty" and "obstinate" Netherlands East Indies with disastrous consequences. [3] It was apparently an indirect attempt to make the East Indies accept Japanese demands.

It was again during this time that an agitation was organised in Japan for the use of the yen, in place of the dominating dollar, as the chief medium of exchange in the Japanese Co-Prosperity Sphere. Behind this movement was the Japanese fear that their

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1309-A, p. 22; *Timetable No.* 65; H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[2] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1309-A; *Timetable Nos.* 66 & 67; H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[3] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, pp. 64–65.

dollar balances in the United States might be frozen at any moment. To further their designs of including the East Indies in the *yen bloc*, which was one of the means of integrating the Archipelago in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the chief representative of the Yokohama Specie Bank in the Indies, Y. Imagawa, approached the delegations with a plan to establish "a free and unlimited exchangeability between the yen and the Netherlands Indies guilder at fixed and agreed rates, instead of the customary mutual payments in dollars." [1] The Netherlands East Indies, which had been following a conciliatory policy in the absence of any definite promise either by the United States or Great Britain to come to her rescue, if attacked by Japan, could not possibly reject outright this Japanese proposal. Hence, the direct discussion that followed between the Yokohama Specie Bank and *De Javasche Bank* (the bank of issue in the Netherlands Indies) resulted in the "arrangement for direct payment in yen and guilders as long as credit balances stayed within certain narrow limits; any excess balances, however, were to remain collectable in dollars as before." [2] This agreement was hailed by the Japanese "as a major economic victory" and also as a favourable moment for the renewal of the general negotiations between the two countries.

Yoshizawa arrived in Batavia on December 28, 1940 apparently to continue the negotiations but with the same objective: to induce the Dutch East Indies into the economic and political orbit of Greater East Asia. In his conversation with the Governor-General of the Indies he stressed, like his predecessor, Kobayashi, "the necessity of closer collaboration between the two countries, and Japan's ardent desire to participate in the exploitation of the Indies." [3] This indicated the nature of the Japanese demands to be followed soon. On January 16, 1941 the Japanese presented a memorandum which emphasised the "economic interdependence" of Japan and the Netherlands Indies and which contained a number of sweeping demands that had already been decided upon by the cabinet on October 25, 1940. [4] It revealed that

[1] *ibid.*, p. 65.
[2] *ibid.*
[3] *ibid.*, p. 67.
[4] Text of the Japanese memorandum of January 16, 1941 published in H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, pp. 67–71. The plans approved by the cabinet on October 25, 1940 have been discussed in Chapter I (Part II).

Japan aimed at the complete integration of the Indies in the Co-Prosperity Sphere.

The extravagant demands of the Japanese delegation followed by Foreign Minister Matsuoka's assertion in the Diet on January 21, 1941 that the East Indies formed a part of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere raised serious doubts about the real meaning of the term Co-Prosperity and produced strong resentment in the Indies. [1] A sharp Dutch protest followed on January 31, 1941. The Dutch rejected any suggestion of having the East Indies incorporated in a new order in Asia under the leadership of any power whatsoever. [2] It became clear to the Japanese that their demands would not be accepted. The stiff attitude of the Indies Government caused Yoshizawa to send, on January 27, 1941, a gloomy report to Tokyo in which he made clear the Indies' tendency to neglect entirely Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, seeking support more and more from the United States and Great Britain. The conclusion of the report was:

"Therefore, it can be considered that unless our Empire adopts determined resolutions or measures, not only the progress of the Japanese-Netherlands negotiations, but also the development, of Japanese-Netherlands relations would be extremely difficult." [3] That the Netherlands Indies would not yield to any Japanese intimidation or threats was further reiterated in the memorandum submitted by the Netherlands delegation on February 3, 1941. [4]

Japan realised at this time that a resort to armed intervention was inevitable, in order to bring the Indies within the Co-Prosperity Sphere. But she was still not ready to force the issue and discontinue the negotiations. She hoped to utilise the time thus gained for necessary preparations – both military and diplomatic. That she henceforth simultaneously started preparations for military conquest of the Indies is evident from the fact that instructions were issued in January 1941 for the printing of occupation paper money for the Indies, [5] the delivery of which

[1] Telegram of Yoshizawa in Batavia to Foreign Minister Matsuoka, dated February 6, 1941. *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1319; *Timetable* No. 75.

[2] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[3] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1318; *Timetable No.* 70.

[4] For the Dutch Memorandum of Febr. 3, 1941 see H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–74. *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1309–A, p. 22; *Timetable No.* 74.

[5] *I.P.S. Doc.* 9022. See *Far East Mil Trib., Exh. No.* 840; *Timetable No. 72.*

is reported to have taken place in March 1941. [1] At the end of February 1941, when the negotiations were resumed, the Japanese, therefore, showed little sign of resistance and even reduced their demands. "The area of the coveted oil concessions was reduced from 17.5 million hectares to 1.7 million hectares without so much as the batting of an eyelid, and even when it was made clear that only a concession of 0.3 million hectares could be taken into consideration as a first instalment, they hardly offered a protest." [2]

In spite of this lenient Japanese attitude, the Indies Government displayed no indication of submission. However, she avoided giving any direct offence to them and thought it desirable to continue the discussions as long as possible during which time her defences might be strengthened. For this "intransigent" attitude of the Indies, the United States was now considered to be mainly responsible. Tadao Matsumoto thus writes in *The Dai Aziya*, February 1941: "The Netherlands East Indies authorities at present are engaged in speedy preparations for war, apparently with Japan as their supposed enemy. America alone is supplying them with arms and munitions for these preparations as the Netherlands East Indies has no adequate arsenal of their own. Entirely dependent on America for weapons, all of their airplanes, guns and projectiles are of American make. Because they trust the combined power of America and Britain, they remain in the anti-German camp even after losing their mother country."

"The Netherlands East Indies," continues the same writer, "is dependent on the United States not only for military materials but also for national existence. By international law, their territory still belongs to the Netherlands Empire, but in a sense it is a part of America militarily. It is because of American military aid that the Indies authorities dare to show a hostile attitude towards the Japanese, an attitude that must be considered a part of American antagonism." [3]

[1] *Timetable No.* 76. It may be interesting to note that while discussing the Japanese attack on the South at the Von Ribbentrop-Matsuoka conference of March 29, 1941, a point arose as to how to acquire the oil fields in the Indies intact. Matsuoka expressed his fear that in case of an attack on the Indies, the oil installations might be set on fire – *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 580; *Timetable No.* 80; *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939–1941*, p. 310.

[2] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

[3] *Contemporary Japan*, March 1941, Vol. X, No. 3, pp. 398–399.

Yoshizawa also seems to have been convinced of the inevitable failure of his mission, especially when the United States was backing the Indies. In a telegram (March 1941) to Matsuoka, he expressed the view that the attitude of the Netherlands Indies towards Japan reflected that of the United States and that the real problem between Japan and the United States was not China but the Indies. Now that the United States was pressing her "oppression" against Japan, nothing could be expected of the Indies-Japanese negotiations. The only way for Japan to solve the problem of the Indies, he stressed, was by exercising her real power. [1]

Japan, however, was not yet prepared to act. Premier Konoye himself found it necessary to send a telegraphic message to Yoshizawa in Batavia on March 28, 1941, instructing him not to be discouraged but "to push pertinaciously our original demands for the time being, to direct your main effort to the acquisition of resources, and to await further developments in the situation." [2] This was followed by an increase in the Japanese demands for rubber and tin to 30,000 and 12,500 tons respectively to be exported annually from the Indies. [3] But the Dutch remained steadfast to their point of view and hence no progress was made in the discussions. The Japanese at last presented their final memorandum on May 14, 1941, detailing the terms with regard to the entry of the Japanese into the Indies, in the spheres of enterprise and business, traffic and communications, trade and commerce. [4] Although this time they reduced the figures of rubber and tin to 20,000 and 3,000 tons respectively, they raised the requirement of oil to 1,800,000 tons. It was, however, added that the Japanese Government would be prepared to purchase oil from the Indies up to 3,800,000 tons per year for a period of at least five years, and the Indies Government was requested to make, through her influence, the oil companies concerned increase the export of oil to Japan up to this quantity. It is quite obvious that "the oil was wanted more than ever

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1045; *Timetable No.* 81.

[2] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1320; *Timetable No.* 82.

[3] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

[4] Japanese memorandum of May 14, 1941 published in H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–87. The three tables giving Japan's detailed requirements were not presented till May 22, 1941.

as the inflow from the Western Hemisphere was being reduced." [1]

The Indies Government, however, continued to deny Japan special privileges or position. The request for the larger quantity of oil was again referred to the oil companies; the request for concessions was deferred. The whole dispute now seemed to centre around the exports of rubber and tin. Licenses for the exportation of 10,000 and 2,300 tons of rubber and tin respectively had been granted for the first six months of 1941. But as Allied demands for these commodities increased, quota to non-Allied countries had to be cut down. Moreover, during the first half of 1941 it became increasingly certain that essential raw materials like rubber and tin were reaching Germany from the Far East through the intermediary of Japan. A successful Allied blockade of Germany meant that the latter should be deprived of these commodities. Yet when the Japanese requested for an increased supply of them, the Indies Government promised to do so, provided Japan was prepared to offer a guarantee that these goods would not be sent to Germany.

On May 23, 1941 Matsuoka telegraphically informed Yoshizawa in Batavia as well as the Japanese Ambassadors in the United States and Great Britain about the acceleration of the negotiations with the Netherlands Indies. He related his interview with the British Ambassador in Tokyo, Sir Robert Craigie, in the course of which he complained of the "insolence" of the Indies Government in asking a guarantee from Japan that rubber-exports granted by the Indies would not be supplied to Germany. He asserted that such an assurance could never be given. Matsuoka further emphasised that Japan would need the exclusive imports from Indo-China and Thailand (130,000 tons of rubber and 20,000 tons of tin per year, against which there was an earlier Japanese consumption of 50,000 tons of rubber and 10,000 tons of tin annually). Besides, Japan would also want 20,000 tons for her increasing needs. Matsuoka even threatened that the withdrawal of the Yoshizawa delegation from Batavia would create a dangerous situation. [2] A few days later, on May 30, 1941, Matsuoka in an informal talk stated that "although the Japanese southward policy was primarily animated

[1] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
[2] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1321; *Timetable No.* 85.

by peaceful motives, it might be reconsidered should it be found impossible to carry it on peacefully." [1] He obviously referred to the stiff attitude of the Indies. At the same time the Japanese press intensified its campaign of hostility against the "obstinate" Netherlands Indies.

The Dutch reply to the Japansee memorandum of May 14th-22nd, 1941 was finally presented on June 6, 1941. [2] The reply once more firmly reiterated the fundamental principles which guided the economic policy of the Indies Government, as already set forth in the memorandum of February 3, 1941: "a policy, which involves the furtherance of welfare, progress and emancipation of its population, non-discrimination towards friendly foreign powers and the avoidance of the creation of preponderance of foreign interests in any particular field of activity." [3] In this final answer the Dutch offered only minor concessions but rejected all the major Japanese demands. As Herbert Feis writes: "The Indies Government had stood fast. On some points it had been yielding but not on those which would have enabled Japan to gain a special economic position in the Indies, or conduct preparatory military or political activities there." [4] The Dutch memorandum of June 6 caused deep disappointment among the Japanese delegation and they did not know what to do. Yoshizawa, through a telegram on June 7, 1941, informed Matsuoka that the negotiations had come to a dead end. If the talks were officially broken off on the ground that the Dutch answer was unsatisfactory, the Japanese Government, in Yoshizawa's view, would be compelled to adopt a strong attitude for the maintenance of its internal prestige. But that would also stiffen more the attitude of the Dutch and would cancel several advantages already secured. Yoshizawa was of the opinion that the trailing on of the negotiations might possibly cause a Dutch demand to withdraw the Japanese delegation. In this situation he asked for Matsuoka's telegraphic instructions. [5]

However, the two delegations met once more on June 10,

[1] Quoted in Amry Vandenbosch, *op. cit.*, p. 426.
[2] Text of the Dutch memorandum of June 6, 1941: H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, pp. 88–96.
[3] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
[4] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 207.
[5] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1322; *Timetable No.* 87.

1941. The Indies Government formally refused to accede to the Japanese demands for greater economic and political privileges within her territories, and so "the delegations parted in a subdued though friendly mood." [1] On June 14, 1941 Matsuoka informed Yoshizawa that after the Dutch answer of June 6 there was no sense in continuing the talks any longer, and that the Japanese Government had decided to break off the negotiations and call the delegation back to Japan. [2]

In accordance with this instruction Yoshizawa sought an audience with the Governor-General of the Indies on June 17. After emphasising that the Dutch answer had been wholly unsatisfactory and, therefore, could not provide a sufficient basis for an agreement, Yoshizawa once more expressed the hope that the Indies Government would reconsider her position. The Governor-General, however, regretted that such reconsideration was impossible. Thereupon, Yoshizawa replied that he had been instructed to withdraw his delegation. But great care was taken by the Japanese delegation to make the rupture seem without any portent. Yoshizawa stated that, although the negotiations had brought no agreement, his government wanted to see the general trade and economic relations maintained as before. [3] A joint communiqué, drafted by the Japanese and agreed upon by both parties after a few minor amendments, expressed this view. It read: "Both the Netherlands and the Japanese Delegations greatly regret that the economic negotiation, which has been conducted between them, has unfortunately came to no satisfactory result. It is needless, however, to add that the discontinuation of the present negotiation will lead to no change in the normal relations between the Netherlands Indies and Japan." [4] The Japanese anxiety to maintain the *status quo* was largely inspired by the need of preventing serious public reaction to the breakdown of the conference. Even at this juncture they did not want to force the issue. Besides, they needed an unhampered flow of supplies from the Indies for the acceleration of war

[1] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 97. It may be mentioned that the attitude of the Indies Government towards the Dutch-Japanese talks was approved by the People's Council on June 16, 1941.

[2] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1323; *Timetable No.* 89.

[3] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[4] *ibid.*, p. 99; *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1309-A, p. 36; *Timetable No.* 90.

preparations. Thus came to an end Japan's attempt at "swallowing" the Netherlands Indies into the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere by peaceful and piecemeal infiltration.

It may be said without any shadow of doubt that the main cause of the failure of the conference was the Japanese demands, which were of such nature and magnitude that the Indies Government could not comply with them without jeopardizing the integrity of the Archipelago. A Japanese view of the causes of the failure of the negotiations is, however, given by Kohtaro Ohye in *Contemporary Japan* in the following words: "This unsuccessful parley was almost constantly hampered by development of political questions which unexpectedly obtruded themselves on the council board in spite of the effort made from the outset to confine discussions to purely economic matters. When the international situation is so full of complexities as at present, it is extremely difficult to draw distinctions between economic and political issues or to keep them apart and separate. To this fact more than anything else should be attributed the failure of the Batavia Conference.

"It should also be noted that sentiment in the Netherlands East Indies underwent a drastic change against Japan after the conclusion of the tripartite treaty. That Japan was regarded almost as an open enemy cannot be denied. This attitude was shown when Japan became allied with Germany, with whom the Netherlands were at war. It may also be said, on the psychological side, that the Netherlands East Indies depended on Britain's fighting power and on the aid and support of America which was becoming an arsenal for the democracies. It may equally be said that the attitude of the Netherlands East Indies stiffened when they underrated the power of Japan, which was misjudged to be on the verge of military and economic exhaustion after more than four years' fighting. The Dutch opposition to the Co-prosperity sphere of East Asia was no doubt due to the political construction wrongly placed on the economic and peaceful designs of the Japanese Government in consequence of its joining the Axis countries, as well as to the strong reliance placed by the Netherlands on Britain and America. The Dutch argument that Japan might re-export to Germany what she imported from the Netherlands East Indies was only too spacious.

What Japan sought from that source was to meet her expanding industrial needs." [1]

With the formal breakdown of the Batavia Conference, a resort to force remained as the only alternative method of bringing the Indies into the Co-Prosperity Sphere, the preparations for which were already under way. Before launching military action, the bases in Southern Indo-China were to be secured, since they were regarded as essential for an easy attack on the Indies. Matsuoka admitted this to the German Ambassador in Tokyo, Ott, on June 21, 1941. He said that there would be no more negotiations with the Netherlands Indies, and that before proceeding further against the Archipelago, air and naval bases in Southern Indo-China would have to be obtained. [2] (The Japanese troops had already occupied Northern Indo-China following the defeat of France in June 1940).

Therefore, the Liaison Conference between the Government and the Imperial Headquarters of June 25, 1941, which set up, "especially in connection with the return of the Japanese Delegate from the Dutch Indies", the programme for the South, decided that as the first step towards the Southern drive, Japan should hasten to obtain air bases, the use of specified harbours, and the right to station troops in Southern Indo-China. [3] This decision was endorsed by the Imperial Conference of July 2, 1941, and once more it was reiterated that Japan should speed up her Southward march and remove all obstacles. [4]

The occupation of Southern Indo-China by Japanese troops

[1] Quoted in Amry Vandenbosch, *op. cit.*, p. 427. An official Japanese statement on the failure of the Conference was issued in Tokyo on June 18, 1941 by Yasushi Ihii, Chief of the Third Division of the Board of Information – See Appendix I, *ibid.* pp. 429–431.

[2] Telegram from German Ambassador in Tokyo to German Minister of Foreign Affairs in Berlin, *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 635; *Timetable No.* 91. In a telegram of July 4, 1941 from Bangkok to Berlin, a conversation between the German military attaché there and the secretary of the Japanese Embassy was reported. The latter had said that the failure of the negotiations with the Netherlands East Indies would compel Japan to take over the Indies' oil fields by force. Prior to this there would be a Japanese military occupation of Southern Indo-China, "in order to procure a concentration area and jumping-off ports against the Netherlands Indies" – *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 639-A; *Timetable No.* 94. The same opinion was again expressed on July 14, 1941, in a cable from Canton to Tokyo: "After the occupation of French Indo-China, next on our schedule is the sending of an ultimatum to the N.E.I.". It was further stated that in seizing the N.E.I. only two divisions of the Army would be required – *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 641; *Timetable No.* 95.

[3] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1306; *Timetable No.* 92.

[4] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 588; *Timetable* No. 93.

accordingly began on July 24, 1941. As a result, on July 28, 1941 the Netherlands Indies authorities, following the examples of the United States, Great Britain, and the British Dominions, issued orders, freezing all Japanese assets in the Indies and suspending the Dutch-Japanese financial agreement. [1] American and British repressive measures did not cause so much surprise to the Japanese Government as did the action of the Indies. Indeed, an official promise had been given to Japan for the supply of certain quantities of oil, bauxite, rubber, tin, and other raw materials. By the edict of July 28 the Indies Government now stopped all supplies to Japan. Hence, there was great resentment against the Indies. About the Japanese reaction Herbert Feis writes: "Ending the inflow of oil, by means of which Japan might have managed despite the American and British ban, it produced shock." [2] The period of semi-appeasement was thus over.

Henceforward, direct relations between Japan and the Dutch East Indies virtually came to an end. It was clear that war between the two countries was inevitable. Japan intensified her preparations for the intended military action. The advance bases which had been secured in Southern Indo-China for an easy campaign against the Indies were being strengthened. Plans which were now prepared provided for an attack upon the Indies simultaneously with the starting of war against Great Britain and the United States. The so-called "Table Top Manœuvers", held in August 1941 by the Total War Research Institute, went into great detail as to how and when to start a campaign against the Indies and dealt extensively with the coming military operations, either against the Netherlands alone, or in conjunction with a general war in the Pacific. [3] It was again during this time that the Japanese Ambassador in Berlin, General Oshima, called on General Christiansen, commander of the German occupation forces in Holland, "possibly to collect further material on the military and political situation in the Indies from documents in the Dutch Department of Colonies in the Hague." [4]

[1] H. J. van Mook, *op. cit.*, p. 103; *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1324-A; *Timetable No.* 97.

[2] Herbert Feis, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

[3] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. Nos.* 686-A, Summary Record p. 1325; 870-A, p. 1322; 871, p. 1336; *Timetable No.* 98.

[4] B. H. M. Vlekke, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

In order to facilitate further the military campaign against the Indies, the Japanese increased their subversive activities. Special attention was paid to influencing the Chinese nationals in the Indies, which totalled some one and a quarter million. On September 2, 1941 Consul-General Ishizawa at Batavia in a cable to Tokyo requested that more pro-Japanese Chinese agents from the occupied regions of China be sent to the Indies, in order to counter anti-Japanese feeling among the Chinese nationals there.[1] It is revealed from the secret report of the Office of East Asiatic Affairs at Batavia that as many as four big Japanese spy organisations were operating in the Netherlands Indies.[2]

At the end of October 1941 after General Tojo had become Premier, a general re-examination of all possible questions connected with the prospective planned war against the Netherlands, the United States and Great Britain took place. One of the questions studied was the possibility of limiting the war only to the Netherlands or the Netherlands and Great Britain. But the Ministry of Foreign Affairs held a different view. They were convinced that Great Britain and the United States would certainly be involved in a war with the Netherlands.[3] At the same time naval units for the operations in the Netherlands Indies were also selected. It was further specified that certain oil refineries in the Indies would be directly administered by the Japanese Navy to cover its own needs.[4]

Immediately after the Imperial Conference of November 5, 1941, which finally decided to go to war with the Western Powers, detailed instructions were given for the starting of operations, the date of which was yet to be fixed. An order was given, for instance, to attack Dutch ships and airplanes, in special cases, even before the declaration of war. On the day of the declaration of war the Southern Area Force would destroy the hostile navies in the territory of the Dutch East Indies and co-operate with the Japanese Army in the occupation of the Archipelago. It was further instructed that in the beginning of the operations the strategic areas of Celebes, Dutch Borneo and

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1327; *Timetable No.* 99.
[2] October 27, 1941. *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1325; *Timetable No.* 107.
[3] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. Nos.* 1328 and 1329; *Timetable No.* 106.
[4] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 809; *Timetable No.* 104.

Southern Sumatra would be occupied. Also strategic areas in the Moluccas and Timor. Necessary air bases would be prepared in these areas. After the completion of these bases the air force would be pushed forward in order to destroy the enemy air force in Java. After that the main body of the invasion group of the Army would land in Java for its occupation [1]

However, the final stage in the preparations by Japan for the conquest of the Netherlands East Indies was reached towards the end of November 1941 when Consul-General Ishizawa at Batavia, acting on orders from Foreign Minister Togo, instructed the Japanese consuls in various places in the Indies to report telegraphically all movements of merchantmen and warships in the Pacific, the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea zones, giving full details of destinations of all outgoing ships. [2] "While the Japanese government", states Vlekke, "boldly asserted that it had never more than 35,000 men in Indo-China, it was really massing strong forces along the boundary of Thailand and near its new naval bases in the neighbourhood of Saigon. It was massing air fleets at the bases northeast of the Indies, in the archipelago of the Caroline Islands. An imposing force was concentrating for the attack on the Indies." [3] Japan, thus fully prepared, was waiting for the appropriate moment to launch an invasion of the Netherlands East Indies.

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1252; *Timetable No.* 109.

[2] Telegram from Consul-General Ishizawa at Batavia to Japanese consuls in the Indies, November 29, 1941. *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1330; *Timetable No.* 115.

[3] B. H. M. Vlekke, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

CHAPTER III

CONQUEST AND OCCUPATION POLICY

INTRODUCTION

The first Japanese invasion troops landed in the territory of the Dutch East Indies on January 10, 1942, more than a month after the Land of the Rising Sun had begun the great adventure in the Pacific. It was only to facilitate an easy military conquest of the Indies that she did not commence a simultaneous direct offensive against her along with the attacks on Pearl Harbour, Hongkong and Malacca on December 8, 1941. Prime Minister Tojo, in a meeting of the Investigation Committee of the Privy Council, stated that Japan would not formally declare war against the Netherlands in view of future strategic considerations. [1] The Netherlands, however, had declared war against Nippon with other Allies on the same day. In vain Japan made a last attempt to dissuade the determined Dutch from fighting for the East Indies by sending, through Swedish diplomatic channels, an official proposal that "in the name of humanity" bloodshed and any sort of hostile action against the Nipponese forces should be avoided. [2] This appeal was obviously motivated by the Japanese desire "to drive a wedge into the united front of the Allies" [3] as well as to capture intact the vital resources, particularly the oil fields and installations of the Indies, which was quite evident by their very first landing in the island of Tarakan. [4]

The landing of the Japanese forces in the East Indies was followed by a declaration of the Japanese Government on January 12, 1942 in which she "regretted" being compelled to wage a war "in view of the necessity of destroying the hostile acts of the

[1] December 8, 1941. *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1241; *Timetable No.* 122.
[2] B. H. M. Vlekke, *op. cit.*, p. 400.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 399.
[4] See *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 628; *Timetable No.* 53.

Netherlands." [1] This was again reiterated by Foreign Minister Togo in his speech before the 79th session of the Diet on January 22, 1942. [2]

Indeed, the Japanese advance had gone strictly according to plan. [3] The campaign against the Archipelago had been preceded by the occupation of Indo-China, the penetration of Siam and the conquest of the Malaya Peninsula. The Philippines had been overpowered but for one area likely to fall at any moment. The conquest of Burma and the occupation of the northern coast of New Guinea and neighbouring islands then followed.

The conquest of the East Indies had not been very difficult. The price that Japan had to pay for it in the form of ships and manpower, in the opinion of Japanese leaders, had not been too high. Only seven weeks after their first landing the Japanese set foot on the shores of Java, the main island of the Archipelago. The desperate resistance put up by the Dutch fleet and air force, aided by weak Allied forces, had scarcely been able to slow down the advance, not to speak of halting it.

Only some Dutch Indies army detachments, widely scattered over the Outer Regions, had somewhat succeeded in prolonging their resistance by withdrawing into the interior, but great distances in the unbeaten area had caused the Japanese much more delay than the meagre Dutch troops. Those in Timor appeared to be persisting till ten months later it was possible for them to retreat to Australia. Fourteen men of Manokwari's garrison, which never counted more than one hundred and thirty, found shelter in the inhospitable interior of New Guinea till MacArthur's army expelled the intruders. In Celebes an officer with a group of constabulary maintained themselves till September 1942. However, none of these and other groups could do any considerable harm to the enemy. The resistance had never developed into a guerrilla warfare; one could at the most avoid the enemy for a long time.

The larger part of the Indies army was concentrated on Java. It was easy to know in advance the places where the enemy would land, but the coastal defense was so weak that the army

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1337; *Timetable No.* 132.

[2] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1330-A; Timetable No. 133.

[3] The plan had been decided upon on November 5, 1941; see *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1252; *Timetable No.* 109.

command could not avail itself of that knowledge. The mobile striking force was not large enough to confront the enemy even in one single landing place. [1] The mobile force had "fourteen weak battalions" – in General Wavell's words, and of these a section had to protect East Java and the rest the "mountain fortress" of Bandung.

The defense on land apparently failed. A failure such as that of the fleet and airforce, which succumbed to the overwhelming superior force of the enemy, would not have been a humiliation. But in the army the organisation itself collapsed. Of the pre-war Indies army, which was accustomed to small scale fighting with native enemies or rebels, the military command could not, within one years's time only, build up an effective fighting force that could compete with an equal number of Japanese in a struggle on such a large scale. And Java's garrison had to face Japanese troops, who outnumbered them many times and who had already been trained in fighting for five years in China. The native professional soldiers, who felt themselves capable of meeting a superior enemy force of their own race in a man-to-man fight, initially lost the courage and endurance under the fire of better Japanese arms [2] and against an enemy renowned for fanaticism and invincibility. It was even rumoured that some of the officers who were conscious of the inequality of the struggle failed in their duty to lead their troops with energy and courage. Also certain cases of cowardly retreat, in which many were left to their own fate, were circulated among the Dutch public before the capitulation. This deeply shocked the morale of the civilian population as well as of the troops.

helemaal niet!

The reports that the Japanese acted with great cruelty against the Europeans also contributed much to the weakening of the morale. At the beginning of the campaign the headquarters of Marshal Terauchi had threatened with death all those who would wilfully destroy important industrial installations. [3] After

[1] According to personal information from a Netherlands source.

[2] This was clear already in Tarakan where the Amboinese soldiers could not be induced to attack – *De Militaire Spectator, April 1949*: "De Strijd op het eiland Tarakan in Januari 1942", p. 205. Others explained this failure as the lack of sufficient and experienced soldiers in the detachment of the Amboinese, which was completely composed of young soldiers without any fighting experience.

[3] See also *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1338-B; *Timetable No.* 134: on January 22, 1942, Premier Tojo also stated that the Netherlands East Indies would be destroyed without hesitation, if she continued to resist Japan.

the occupation of Tarakan (January 12, 1942), where the destruction had been carried out in spite of this threat, the Japanese sent a Dutch war-prisoner officer to Balikpapan in order to repeat the threat more emphatically. [1]

In Balikpapan when the whole oil industry appeared to be destroyed, the Japanese executed their threat: one month after the conquest, eighty-one Dutch were executed in cold blood. [2] There were also reports of arbitrary massacres in the still unoccupied area: of the thirty-three government officials serving in South and East Borneo, seven were killed by the Japanese at the first encounter and three fell at the hands of the natives. [3] The latter also often turned against the Dutch in the Outer Regions at the arrival of the enemy, and officers who had remained behind in distant lonely posts had little chance to escape with life. Sometimes, however, the advent of the Japanese meant safety instead of death. [4] As the enemy approached nearer and more refugees came to Java, unrest increased among the European population and changed the temper. [5]

Eight days after the first landings in Java Bandung was occupied. The surrender of the city, government and army on March 8, 1942 ended a long period in the history of the East Indies. Under severe threats the Japanese command had rejected an offer of surrender of the city and fortress of Bandung: the

[1] January 20, 1942. *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. Nos.* 1329 and 1340; *Timetable No.* 138.

[2] February 24, 1942. *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1341; *Timetable No.* 140.

[3] *"Het Binnenlands Bestuur in Zuid-Borneo tijdens de Japanse bezetting."* (Uitgave van de Residentie-voorlichtingsdienst Zuid-Borneo, 1947).

[4] As an example of this characteristic attitude, one may remember how the Controller of Atjeh's westcoast, G. C. Bruin, was protected by the government police who spontaneously formed a circle around him, so that none of the Atjenese rebels could touch him with their naked arms till the Japanese brought the situation under control (*A. J. Piekaar, Atjeh en de Oorlog met Japan*, N.V. Uitgeverij W. van Hoeve, 's-Gravenhage-Bandung 1949, p. 166). Individual cases of help and sympathy towards the Dutch often occurred also in Atjeh which was still considered as dangerous.

[5] Relatively few cases of brute violence occured at the entry of the Japanese. All eyewitnesses praised the strict discipline that was maintained among the invasion troops in spite of the fact that these soldiers had had long experience of cruel warfare in China. Most of them were not Japanese-born but Koreans and Formosans. Plunderers were dealt with by effective Asiatic methods.

S. Sjahrir (in his *Out of Exile*, translated by Charles Wolf, Jr. The John Day Company, New York 1949, p. 237) called the first Japanese troops "barbarians", but praised (in the same passage) their strict discipline. He presented the case as if it were the Japanese plunderers who were treated so severely; from all others sources, however, it clearly appears that it was the Indonesian "plunderers" against whom strict measures were taken.

government and chief command should capitulate on behalf of the Netherlands Indies, otherwise a heavy bombardment would follow. [1]

During the first days of the war, in December 1941, when the weak and antiquated Dutch Indies airforce and submarines were the only Allied fighting forces that had some success, many Europeans in the Indies and outside believed that the defenders of the East Indies would possibly put up a grand resistance. The results, which had been of little significance in the wider context of the war, were considered as successes because the British and Americans at that time seemed to retreat without any resistance before the Japanese attack.

The failure of the resistance on land came as an anti-climax to the inflated feeling of strength that had been created. False hope was followed by complete disillusion. Some wondered why the Dutch Indies had not remained neutral in the war against Japan as Russia had done, why the government had made such haste in voluntarily declaring war. The Lieutenant Governor-General, Dr. van Mook, defended himself against this reproach in his historic speech in the People's Council, which held its last session on March 6, 1942.

"We had to fight", argued van Mook, "if we did not want to eliminate ourselves in advance with regard to peace arrangements after the victory of our allies." Earlier Dr. van Mook had directed also sharp reproaches to the allies, who had lacked the will to attack. [2] He expressed in this what was in the hearts of all: the conviction of having been "left in the lurch". Psychologically, 1945 was the normal sequel to 1942. The bitter disappointment left behind with the Dutch a memory, which worked through the post-war period of the Indonesian-Dutch conflict as well as in the mutual relations with the former allies.

There was still another illusion that was rudely and suddenly shattered. Before the invasion it was widely believed among the Dutch that the Indonesians had willingly accepted their authority and that there was sincere appreciation and love for European rulers among the mass of the people, especially in Java and in Christianised areas of the Great East. The small

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. Nos.* 1342 and 1343-A; *Timetable No.* 143.
[2] *Radio Oranje*, March 3 and 6, 1942.

number of organised nationalists was usually looked upon as a group of uprooted people, who created unrest in a society from which they had been separated because of their Western training. The Dutch were too easily convinced of the loyalty of the masses to their authority, the more so as they seemed to obey voluntarily the hereditary heads, who in many respects were the pillars of support for the Dutch Indies Government.

What happened shortly before and during the Japanese occupation revealed a widespread different mentality. Already before the invasion it appeared that, of all Indonesians, the left-wing nationalists understood best what dangers threatened from Japan. For them Japan was indeed the type of the most reactionary imperialistic state. It was already so before the threat of war became acute. Sjahrir is said to have persistently fought the pro-Japanese tendency which developed among the nationalists and the people, and what he tells us of this trend agrees almost verbatim with the statements of Palar in 1939, who considered only Gerindo among all the nationalist organizations to be immune from pro-Japanese sentiments. [1] This party called the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere a "fabrication of and for Japanese fascists", and in its statement of August 4, 1941, it said: "The Greater East Asia idea as propagated by Japan is exclusively designed to deprive other peoples of their freedom by Japanese domination as happened in Manchukuo, China, and Indo-China." [2]

The conviction, however, was not very deep even with many of them, for a number of socialist-minded nationalist leaders, who had taken an open stand against Japan during the period of May 1940 to March 1942, did not hesitate to co-operate with the Japanese after the surrender of the Dutch. Or did the stubborn refusal of the Dutch Indies Government to engage the nationalist leaders in the defense against Japan play a part? Mohammed Hatta had openly expressed his willingness for co-operation with the Dutch through the Indonesian press, but till the last moment of Dutch rule his freedom of movement was restricted. In an article in the Malay newspaper *Pemandangan*

[1] Notes of S. Sjahrir of August 19, 1937 and October 28, 1937 (*Out of Exile*, pp. 186–188 and pp. 195–196); L. N. Palar, "De Indonesische Beweging en Japan" in *Socialisme en Democratie, 1939*, pp. 793 ff.

[2] Quoted in B.H.M. Vlekke, *op. cit.*, p. 391.

of December 22, 1941, he wrote: "Our people, with the exception of a small minority now in the armed forces, has not learned to use arms and bears no responsibility for its own fate. Yet it should not think that this war does not affect us .... If we are convinced that the Japanese aggression endangers our ideals, then we must resist Japanese imperialism. Even if we believe that Japan will probably win, it remains our duty to come to the defense of our endangered ideals. It is better to die standing than to live kneeling ...." [1] Sukarno had often expressed the same anti-Japanese opinion in private talks but his ardent desire to return to Java was also prevented. Dr. Tjipto Mangunkusumo, according to Sjahrir, is also said to have tried without any success to contact the Dutch Indies authorities immediately after the outbreak of the war in Europe in order to convince them of the necessity of co-operation against the threatening Japanese imperialism. [2]

Among the masses, says Sjahrir, there existed for years an increasing popularity for Japan. Indeed, in Muslim circles the Japanese display of sympathy for Islam had some effect. There were, however, other reasons which made the Indonesian people look up respectfully towards Japan. Since the Japanese victory over Russia in 1904–1905 the Empire had been admired as the leading Asiatic power. In Atjeh, where the resistance against the Dutch authority was still fiercely waged in 1904, the opposition leaders had in those days sent an appeal for help to Tokyo, and in 1941 the hope of liberation by the Japanese power from the Dutch rule was once again revived. [3] In Java, the *Djojobojo* legend might have had some influence, for one of its many versions prophesised about the restoration of the Javanese freedom after a short period of oppression by a yellow race, and for the masses this meant the Japanese. [4] The wide spreading of this legend after March 8, 1942 might not be important in this connection, but Palar already pointed out in 1939 the expectations that were connected with the prophecy. [5] It was the Japanese

[1] *ibid.*, pp. 396–397. This is probably the article to which S. Sjahrir refers in his book, *Out of Exile*, p. 232. See also *New York Herald Tribune*, July 30, 1944.

[2] *Out of Exile*, pp. 220 ff.

[3] A. J. Piekaar, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

[4] *Out of Exile*, p. 219. According to Prof. Berg the element of temporary rule by a yellow race was first consciously introduced in the legend after Japan's rise.

[5] L. N. Palar, *op. cit.*, p. 804.

activity before 1940, such as the flooding of the Indonesian market with cheap industrial goods which had caused strong countermeasures by the Indies Government, that made Japan, according to Sjahrir, popular among the poorer section of the population. The service in the Japanese shops was good; even the natives, says he, could enter them without hesitation. Of course, the Japanese had made themselves guilty of violence against China after 1931, but the Chinese after all were not so popular then among the Indonesians, and what might be the attitude of the Chinese towards them, if China should unexpectedly become a great power by a victory over Japan? As regards the courteous Japanese, the Indonesians had no inferiority feeling and, therefore, did not fear Japanese rule, which, according to the *Djojobojo* myth, would not be permanent. [1] All this indicated a latent spirit of antipathy towards the Dutch authority among a great majority of the Indonesian people. This antipathy was not directed against the Europeans as such and as individuals. It was, however, against their privileged social position. The character of the natives in large parts of the Archipelago made them sympathetic to the Europeans and sympathy of the Europeans was usually answered readily with appreciation from the side of the Indonesians. Individually, many Westerners enjoyed the love of the natives, and all these various sentiments made it difficult for the Dutch to believe in the existence of a fundamental opposition to their domination. It, nonetheless, existed without any doubt. It was a dormant, still vaguely formed, attitude, which was not explicit enough to stir the masses even superficially at the time of the crisis of the invasion, not to speak about the active support to the invaders. There were, however, disturbances and many cases of local unrest and plunder, but nowhere was there any revolution of the masses: a fifth column was organised by the Japanese in many places – but certainly not everywhere – in Atjeh where there was an armed revolt shortly before and during the invasion. [2] The same Japanese organisation worked in East Sumatra, where especially the Bataks were recruited for this and it had also Chinese among

[1] Both L. N. Palar and S. Sjahrir (in the already-mentioned writings) agree almost literally in their presentation of facts.

[2] A. J. Piekaar amply describes the "F" (*Fujiwara-Kikan*) organisations, called after Major Fujiwara, and their role in the revolt in his earlier-mentioned book.

its members.[1] In Java there seemed to have been formed a fifth column among the organised racketeers, who had tyrannised, since time immemorial, the peasant population in certain regions of the island and whose activity could seldom be effectively controlled by the Indies police.[2] As guides for the landing Japanese troops and as troublemakers behind the Dutch lines and also as organisers of mass plunder in many places, especially in Solo, these bands actually operated. Rebellious movements were also reported from other areas, such as the Lesser Sunda Islands.

It appears that the attitude of the native population shortly before and during the invasion was one of complete passivity. However, they joyfully welcomed the Japanese as liberators and displayed enmity towards the Dutch as soon as the superiority of the invaders was clearly evident on the spot. But at the same time the population, ignorant about general power-relations, had the feeling of having been "left in the lurch" immediately after the invasion became a fact. The attitude of the people doomed every attempt at guerrilla warfare by the Dutch, even if it had been possible. In South Celebes the native population refused to help in the construction of defence work and they assisted the Japanese in tracing the remnant Dutch troops. The same happened in North Celebes near Gorontalo and in West Borneo. The attitude in Minahassa (north-east Celebes) appeared to be divided. Also in Amboina, where a part of the population strongly backed the defense, the Japanese found support from the part of the Muslims. In Sumatra the situation was not different: the Europeans who fled westward from Palembang owed their lives during their forced return to the Japanese escort,[3] and even from Papua's neighbourhood, Manokwari, it

[1] W. Brandt, *De Gele Terreur* (Uitgeverij W. van Hoeve, 's-Gravenhage 1946), pp. 23 ff. This book describes (in journalistic style) the fate of the Europeans in Sumatra's East Coast.

[2] D. H. Meyer, "Over het Bendewezen op Java", in *Indonesië*, 3e jrg., No. 2, pp. 182 ff.; *ibid.*, *Japan wint den Oorlog! Documenten over Java* (N.V. Leiter-Nypels, Maastricht 1946). The writer quotes an article of Dr. Slamet Sudibio: "Perampokan" in *Asia Raya* of May-June, 1942.

See also the writing of Prof. Dr. van Wulfften Palthe, *Het Bendewezen op Java* (Amsterdam 1949) which treats psychologically the continued activity of these bands down to the time of the Republic.

[3] According to a statement of Dr. Hans Meyer (a Swiss employee of the Kon. Petr. Maatschappij in Sumatra) in his lecture at Zurich on May 31, 1949.

was reported that they co-operated with the Japanese in the destruction of the small defence force. In Timor, where the combined Australian and Dutch detachments persisted in the struggle with success for a long time, it was necessary to fight repeatedly against the hostile Timorese. [1]

In Java, especially in Bantam and Cheribon, the Europeans isolated there became victims to rebellious elements among the native population. In Cheribon the Chinese also had to suffer. [2] The plunders at Solo reached such an extent that no European house was spared. Over the whole of Java lootings and destruction of factories took place. When order was restored under Japanese pressure, a number of tea factories appeared to be so damaged that they could not resume production. The damage inflicted on sugar factories could be repaired with comparative ease. [3] Naturally, the hope for booty made thousands of people take part in these activities, and many Javanese did not feel any scruples after they had seen the policy of "scorched-earth" applied by the Dutch to the extreme. The rather wide-spread expression of rebelliousness at the last moment points, without any doubt, to the outbreak of long suppressed sentiments against the Dutch.

Indeed, it was a deep disappointment to the Dutch to see how, in many places of the Archipelago, the Japanese were welcomed with joy as liberators. Many Indonesians individually had given proof of their loyalty and faithfulness even in the freedom-loving Atjeh [4], and they often felt pity when they saw their erstwhile rulers removed in the most humiliating way by the occupants. On the whole, it was only small minorities that had supported the Japanese invasion by open rebellion, but nowhere was there any evidence of mass willingness to help oppose the invaders. The Indonesians no doubt had appreciated the merits of the Dutch rule particularly of the last seven decades, but they had not been attached to the rulers and their authority. They had

[1] See the description of the events of war in *De Militaire Spectator*, March 1948 ff.

[2] W. H. J. Elias, *Indië onder Japanschen Hiel* (W. van Hoeve, Deventer 1946), pp. 55 ff.

[3] J. H. Voigt, "Aanteekeningen betreffende de Thee-ondernemingen op Java gedurende de Japansche bezetting" (*Econ. Weekblad voor Ned. Indië*, Aug. 24, 1946) and G. Rodenburg, "De Suiker-industrie op Java tijdens de Japansche bezetting" (*ibid.*, April 13 and 20, 1946).

[4] For examples see A. J. Piekaar, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

accepted it, as has been said, "as a destiny of Allah" [1], an inevitable fate. But they thanked Allah that there came a change, since they did not yet know the true nature of the Japanese. Not unjustly did American observers point to the contrast with the attitude of the Filipinos, which revealed itself there. [2]

Although a great part of the Indonesian population soon learnt to appreciate the Japanese liberation in a different way than during the first months of 1942, the attitude of the natives as well as the simultaneous disappointment and surprise at the sudden breakdown of the whole of the Dutch East Indies authority left behind impressions which made the relations between the Dutch and Indonesians after 1945 psychologically extremely difficult. Most of the Dutch in the camps, says an eyewitness, had never been able to explain to themselves the ruin of everything to which they had so highly looked. They had never been able to cope with this mental shock. [3] Among the Indonesians the prestige of the Dutch had been destroyed. The Dutch had not had the power to defend their historical position of authority, and having failed in the defense of their right, they had lost their claim in the eyes of the people, or, as Mohammed Hatta is supposed to have stated shortly after the capitulation of Bandung: "The Dutch made appeal to historical rights, now this argument of history has been answered from history." [4]

The Dutch, on their side, felt themselves strengthened in their historical right because they, following the example and command of the Governor-General, did not abandon the Indies as a lost colony and also did not evacuate in a mass scale – as happened elsewhere – but remained there in order to share the fate of the population. Under the Japanese authorities the lot of the Dutch, however, appeared to be even harder to bear than that of the natives. Nevertheless, it was borne with courage and firm conviction in the ultimate restoration of justice. By sustained

[1] J. Verkuyl, *De Achtergrond van het Indonesische Vraagstuk* (D. A. Daamen's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., 's-Gravenhage 1946), p. 29.

[2] The attitude of the people in the British territories of South East Asia (viz. Burma) was, on the contrary, certainly very unfavourable for the Western Powers.

[3] W. H. J. Elias, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

[4] J. Verkuyl, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

suffering so courageously, the Dutch thought that they had "rebought" what they had lost in right and prestige in 1941–1942. At the end of the war it became clear, though, how rudely such sentiments had been disturbed by reality.

For the Indonesians disillusion came soon, says Sjahrir. [1] But the Japanese succeeded in masking their imperialistic intentions for a long time by encouraging national popular movement and by a well-organised propaganda, while they managed to adapt their occupation policy to the gradually changing circumstances of the war. Indeed, during the first eighteen months they had *carte blanche* because all this time the mass of the people completely remained isolated from the West, and there was not even any evidence of survival of the Allied Powers.

A. MILITARY GOVERNMENT

The conquest of the East Indies marked the culmination of a long-cherished Japanese ambition. In February 1942 the Java-bound fleet steamed out of the Japanese ports with the plans, the broad outlines of which had been worked out in Tokyo by a staff of ten, assisted by civilians, for the establishment of a military government in Indonesia. The necessary instructions for the rapid execution of the plans were also ready. During the long journey (February–March) to Java it was often rehearsed as to how they should act after the occupation of big towns. At the same time the texts of the proclamation of the military government as well as of many other announcements and leaflets were also drafted. [2]

By the publication of Decree No. 1 on March 7, 1942 the Military Government in Java was formally inaugurated at Batavia after the Dutch had declared it an open city and the Japanese 16th Army had moved in. In this proclamation were announced the foundations of the administration, based on the principle of *Hakko Ichiu.* [3]

During the first few months of the occupation the government was "provisional" in character as stated in Article 1 of Decree

[1] *Out of Exile*, pp. 238 ff.

[2] *Zyawa Nenkan* (Java Year Book, published on July 25, 1944), *Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie* (Amsterdam), 016162–016168.

[3] *ibid.*

No. 1. A simple Central Organ, *Zyawa Gunseibu* [1], was set up under the direct control of the chief of staff of the 16th Army, who was designated as the chief administrator. The conduct of the administration, however, was left to the local commanders of West, Central and East Java. The original plan to place Java, from the beginning, under one uniform administration had to be abandoned because of the small number of Japanese administrative "experts", who had come along with the invasion troops. These civil officials were attached to the military commanders who acted as the executors of the military administration. Regional and local administrative apparatus: *Seimubu* and *Sidoobu* came into being in Surabaya, Bandung and Semarang. The European civil service was removed to a large extent and native administration was maintained.

The four Principalities [2] in Central Java and the capital city of Batavia and its surroundings came directly under the Military Command. For the conduct of the administration of these Principalities two subordinate administrative organs were established: *Surakarta* (*Solo*) *Gunseibu* and *Djokjakarta Gunseibu*. Batavia was placed under the control of a directorate: *Sidoobu*.

The initial period when the Military Government was part and parcel of the Army continued till August 1942. A uniform administration for the whole of Java could then be developed into a separate body by the side of the occupation Army. [3]

The legal basis of this apparatus was already laid down in Decree No. 1 of March 7, 1942, by virtue of which the Commander of the 16th Army assumed the final authority over the Military Administration, including all powers exercised by the Governor-General (Art. 2). His Chief of Staff (*Gunseikan*) became the direct head of the Military Administration (*Gunsei*), in which capacity he was assisted by a number of departments, bureaux and organisations, forming together the Military Administration Section (*Gunseikanbu*). [4]

[1] A. A. Zorab, *De Japanse Bezetting van Indonesië en haar Volkenrechtelijke Zijde* (Thesis, Leiden; Universitaire Pers, Leiden 1954), p. 31.

[2] Mangku Negaran, Susuhunanan of Solo, Paku Alaman and Sultanate of Djokjakarta.

[3] *Zyawa Nenkan, Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie,* 016162–016168.

[4] Statement of K. A. de Weerd, *The Japanese Occupation of the Netherlands Indies* (Inter. Prosecution Section, Neth. Division, Nov. 1946), *Document No.* 2750 (*Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1351), pp. 26–27.

The establishment of this permanent military authority brought about considerable changes in the organisation of the administration as it had existed during the Dutch rule. [1]

In the new order there was no place for a Council of the Indies, which was a historically-grown institution and of which radical reform – even its abolition – had already been repeatedly discussed during the Dutch period. [2] The Governor-General's cabinet, too, disappeared.

The classification in the governmental departments appeared also to be strongly changed when the Military Government began to function independent of the Army Command. In place of the former General Secretariat there came into being a Department of General Affairs (*Soomubu*), which was the most important department of the Military Government. The head of this department (*Soomubutyoo*) in fact directed the Military Administration in Java and acted as the deputy of the *Gunseikan*. Besides functioning as a Government Secretariat, it gave guidance to the other departments, and laid down policies. The department was divided into a number of sections [3]: *Tyoosasitu* dealt with administrative, economic and cultural questions; *Kagaku Gizitusitu* examined problems of a technical-scientific nature; *Zinzika* occupied itself with personnel matters of the military administration; political drafts were prepared by *Kikakuka*, a very important section of *Soomubu*; *Zyoohoositu* acted as an information service; *Hoozin Zimukyoku* had control over non-military Japanese in Java; persons of mixed blood, such as the Indo-Europeans, came under the supervision of *Konketu Zyuumin*. As we have seen, this organizational structure of the upper level of the administration had been tried out in Manchukuo and was now introduced in Indonesia.

The former departments of Education and Public Health became divisions of Interior Affairs Department (*Naimubu*). The Educational Division (*Bunkyokyoku*) supervised the activities of the *Seinendan* (the Youth Association in Java), sports

[1] For administrative departments see *Decree No.* 27, August 5, 1942 of the Japanese Commander.

[2] *Verslag van de Commissie tot Bestudeering van Staatsrechtelijke Hervormingen* (further cited as *Report Visman*), Dl. II, pp. 32, 247ff. (page numbers according to the reprint in New York in 1944.)

[3] A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

organisations, education, libraries, museums, etc. The Public Health section became known as *Eiseikyoku*. There were also two other sections of this Department: Local Administration section (*Tihookyoku*) and Labour Section (*Roomukyoku*), added at a later stage. [1]

The Religious Affairs Section, which used to be under the Education and Religion Department during the Dutch régime, was raised to an independent department (*Syuumubu*). The Police section was also withdrawn from Internal Affairs and made a separate department (*Keimubu*). In 1944 Police and Prosecution Section (*Kensatukyoku*), hitherto under the Justice Department (*Sihoobu*), were combined to form the new Department of Public Security (*Tianbu*). The elevation of Police and Religious Affairs sections to independent departments indicated the special importance attached to them by the occupants. No less important for these was the new Department of Propaganda (*Sendenbu*).

Sihoobu was "more or less a reorganisation of the former Department of Justice." [2] At first a part of *Soomubu-Kikakuka*, it later became a separate department in September 1942. The Department was composed of five sections, but in 1944 the organisation was simplified and the number was reduced to three. *Syoomuka* (later, *Soomuka*) took care of archives and personnel affairs. *Minzika* was the section for civil affairs. The former orphan and insolvency chambers, the land-registry and the office for industrial property were placed under its care. *Keizika* was the division for criminal affairs, to which also belonged the former finger print section. Prisons and the execution of sentences were supervised by *Gyookeika*. *Hogoka* was generally in charge of the probation system. [3] On January 1, 1944 the offices of civil and criminal affairs were united to form a new office of investigation (*Kensatuka*). *Gyookeika* and *Hogoka* were also united.

There were also Departments of Finance (*Zaimubu*), Public Works (*Kootubu*) and Economic Affairs (*Sangyoobu*). The activities of the Public Works Department were assigned to two sub-departments in October 1944: Public Works (*Sisetu Sookyoku*

[1] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 27.
[2] A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
[3] i.e. Rehabilitation of "criminals" who have served their penance and are helped to get work and to start anew.

and Motor Transport (*Zidoosya Sookyoku*). In addition, there were also other sub-departments, such as Communications (*Tuusin Sookyoku*), Transport on Land (*Rikuyu Sookyoku*) and the office for supervising radio broadcasts (*Hoosoo Kanri Kyoku*). The Department of Economic Affairs was split into two new departments in July 1945: War Equipment Production Department (*Gunzyu Seisanbu*) and Economic Affairs Department (*Keizaibu*).[1]

Apart from these departments, a number of bureaux came into being with the passage of time, such as Shipbuilding Bureau (*Zoosen Sookyoku*), Maritime Affairs Bureau (*Kaizi Sookyoku*), Audit Bureau (*Kaikei Kantokubu*) and Enemy Property Administration Bureau (*Tekisan Kanribu*). The exigencies of the war also necessitated the establishment of a number of other governmental bodies.[2] Obviously, the former Office of East Asiatic Affairs was immediately closed down.[3] So, the structure of the pre-war Central Administration was substituted by one entirely modelled on the Japanese pattern.

The policy of Japanisation was also thoroughly carried out in the reorganisation of local administration.[4] The three former Provincial governments of West, Central and East Java, which were instituted partly on the basis of geographical and ethnological factors during the last decades of the Dutch rule, did not fit in with the conception of the Japanese military administration. It is needless to say that the provincial councils disappeared with the abolition of the provincial governments. At lower levels of the administration representative councils also came to an end.

Batavia became a Special Municipality (*Tokubetu Si*), and the four Principalities (renamed *Kooti*) came to be administered by two Bureaux (*Kooti Zimukyoku*), one at Solo and the other at Djokjakarta, each being in charge of two Principalities. The rest of Java was divided into seventeen *Syuu*, comparable to the

[1] A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[2] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 28. See also the articles (already quoted) in *Economisch Weekblad voor Ned.-Indië*, April 13, April 20, August 24, 1946.

[3] The archives of this office, the work of many years of diligent and patiënt research with invaluable political and economic data about the East Asiatic countries, which would have been useful to the Allies, were burnt before the Japanese landing.

[4] See *Decree No.* 27, August 5, 1942, supplemented by *Osamu Seirei No.* 3, February 10, 1945; *Decree No.* 28 August 7, 1942; *Osamu Seirei Nos.* 12 and 13, April 29, 1943; *Osamu Seirei No.* 7, February 16, 1944.

former Residencies which were maintained geographically. The heads of the various *Syuu*, *Tokubetu Si*, and *Kooti Zimukyoku*, were directly responsible to the *Gunseikan* for the administration of their regions.

The *Syuu* were subdivided into three to five *Ken* (each coinciding geographically with the former Regencies) and a small number of *Si* (coinciding with the former town municipalities). The *Ken* again were subdivided into *Gun* (former Districts), the *Gun* into *Son* (former Sub-Districts), and the *Son* into *Ku* (former Desas). The *Si* (municipalities) were subdivided into *Siku* (wards). The functionaries of these local bodies, however, stood in an autocratic, hierarchical relation to the head of *Syuu*, who, in spite of his extensive authority in the local administration, was entirely dependent on the Central Administration. [1]

The position of the four Javanese Princes also underwent a fundamental change. They "were maintained, not, as a matter of principle, as having a hereditary title to their position, but as Rulers, under the name of *Ko*, newly invested by the Japanese." [2] Like all civilian officials in the Japanese administration, they had to swear allegiance to the Japanese Army. Their investure and swearing-in took place in Batavia in August 1942 at the residence of the Japanese Commander.

The democratic and decentralised form of government existing in 1941, established with a view to progressive realisation of self-government, was thus set aside by one stroke of the Japanese occupation. Centralisation replaced decentralisation by the abolition of the representative co-governing institutions. It seems that the main aim of the Japanese was to build up an administrative organisation which, in its final form, would be the logical extension of the colonial structure as existed in Formosa and Korea. Indeed, the memoranda of the Total War Research Institute referred to earlier made it abundantly clear that there would be no place for a parliamentary or semi-parliamentary system in the new Japanese realm. For parliaments were the product of "detested" Western individualism and liberalism. Classification, i.e. regulation according to status, and dutiful co-operation would be the new foundation of the

[1] A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 32.
[2] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 32.

Asiatic states. Democracy was objectionable, and freedom for the subjugated people meant in the first place only the holding of more numerous posts by the natives. Moreover, a military occupation authority does not usually tolerate control by the population, and certainly not, when heavy sacrifices would be demanded of the "liberated" population who would, as Japan expected, remain grateful for the "freedom" brought to them.

All the key positions in the Military Administration were held by the Japanese who came mainly from Japan itself, Korea and Formosa. This Japanisation stretched from the *Gunseikanbu* to the staff of the Residency Office (*Syuu*). [1] A number of specialists sent from Japan after the fall of Bandung never reached their destination: the ship was torpedoed on the way. The Army on its arrival was welcomed in many places by Reception Committees, composed of representatives of the Indonesian people, apparently self-appointed. They undoubtedly hoped to be rewarded with good positions, and so the Army gave temporarily to the Indonesians a greater share in the new administration than they had had during the Dutch regime, but always under the supervision of the Japanese. The Army Command, however, took care that of the above-mentioned self-recommended Indonesians, preference was given only to the experienced ones, but even these were replaced to a large extent by the Japanese within a year. A stream of militarised civilian Japanese officials who spread throughout the Archipelago in 1943 [2] took over all the important posts. Even "if an Indonesian held a seemingly

[1] Of all the Residents in Java and Madura there was only one Indonesian, while the burgomasters of the town municipalities were all Indonesians except those of Batavia, Semarang and Surabaya.

[2] "Ce sont tout d'abord les Japonais qui, chassés par la guerre d'Occident, ont reflué d'Europe ou d'Amérique, prudemment revenus avant Pearl Harbour ou rapatriés plus tard par les bateaux d'échange: diplomates, hommes d'affaires, représentants des grands trusts comme Mitsui et Mitsubishi, banquiers, agents des grandes compagnies du navigation, exportateurs, journalistes, etc. ..... Tous ces gens continueront à former l'état-major politique d'outre-mer, mais des régions qui leur sont tout à fait inconnues: de chefs de bureaux à Londres, San Francisco ou Buenos Aires, ils deviendront, sans préparation, administrateurs ou conseillers civils à Kotah-Baru, Balik-Papan ou dans Mindanao. On leur adjoint comme subordonnés tout ce qu'on peut retrouver comme trafiquants ayant autrefois vendu la pacotille japonaise entre Singapour et Rangoun, comme négociants ayant rôdé entre Bornéo, Timor et l'Australie, et quiconque a sous un masque divers – journalisme, affaires, entreprises de pécheries, bureaux de tourisme, etc. ..... – mené naguère le sournois travail de pénétration et d'espionnage dans le Sud." – R. Guillain, *Le Peuple Japonais et la Guerre 1939–1946* (René Julliard, Paris 1947), pp. 106–107.

important post there was certain to be a Japanese in the background who was the leading executive."[1] From the Regency (*Ken*) office downward, the Indonesian staff was almost wholly maintained. It is true that there were many more Indonesians in the administration than before, but this did not mean that they enjoyed *more* power. The Military authorities interpreted the Great Asiatic plans in their own way!

Compared with the machinery of the Dutch Indies Government, the Japanese administration had a larger number of officials. Java alone counted 23,242 Japanese officials in the employment of the Military Administration on September 1, 1945.[2] Certainly, all of them were not necessary; perhaps it may be true that the Japanese authorities had the intention to place as many of their countrymen as possible in well-paid positions at the cost of the conquered territories. In such a gigantic administrative apparatus the Indonesians, down to the lowest grade, were virtually eclipsed by the Japanese assistants. Although the employment of the Indonesians was mainly confined to subordinate positions in the administration, it can hardly be denied that it "gave them self-confidence and some training for the anticipated time when they would be in full control."[3] By their role in administrative affairs the Indonesians, as Elsbree has aptly expressed, "did receive a psychological fillip which strengthened their determination to resist"[4] the return of the Dutch rule at the end of the war.

After the establishment of the Military Administration it soon became clear that the few Dutch, who were working as "officials of the military government", would not be retained in their positions. The Japanese, of course, were faced with the problem as to how to replace them by their own compatriots who were considered to a certain extent experts. Hundreds of them who lived in Indonesia at the time of the outbreak of the war had been deported to Australia before the surrender of Java. How useful this group could have been appeared in Atjeh, where a

[1] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 33.
[2] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 29.
[3] F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 374.
[4] W. H. Elsbree, *Japan's Role in Southeast Asian Nationalist Movements 1940–1945* (Harvard Univ. Press for the Institute of Pacific Relations, Cambridge, Mass. 1953), p. 167.

former planter of Sumatra's East Coast, S. Masubuchi, directed the occupation policy, in the words of a Dutch writer, "in a really masterly way." [1]

More powers were given to the heads of the different branches of the administration and to the Japanese Residents than the former corresponding Dutch officials had enjoyed. [2] This was natural in a military government which was responsible only to the Ministries at Tokyo, and not to the representative bodies, either local or in the mother country.

The Japanese divided the whole Archipelago into three administrative units which also resulted in the automatic disappearance of the Peoples' Council (*Volksraad*). Sumatra, occupied by the 25th Army, was administered in a rather similar way to Java by a *Gunseikanbu* at Bukit Tinggi [3], after an initial stage during which Sumatra and Malaya formed an administrative unit under the Commander of the 25th Army at Singapore. The island was divided into *Syuu;* at lower levels there were differences, as compared to Java, in designations but not in nature. [4]

The 16th and 25th Armies, the occupiers of Java and Sumatra respectively, were under the 7th Area Army with headquarters at Singapore. The latter constituted a part of the Chief Command of the Southern Expeditionary forces under Field Marshal Terauchi with headquarters first at Singapore and later near Saigon.

Although Java and Sumatra fell hierarchically under the same command, this did not exclude direct relations of both the *Gunseikanbu* with the Ministry of War at Tokyo.

Dutch Borneo, the Celebes and all the islands east of a line running north and south through Bali and Macassar Straits were under the jurisdiction of the Navy. Again the terminology varied, but the system was not different in essence.

Gunsei (Military Administration) in these areas was called *Minsei* (Civil Administration), whose headquarters (*Minseifu*) was at Macassar (Celebes). *Minsei* differed from *Gunsei* more in terminology than in principle. It had also all the characteristics of a centralised administration conducted by a Service over

[1] A. J. Piekaar, *op. cit.*, p. 191.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 253.
[3] Former Fort de Kock.
[4] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 34.

civilians. The whole area governed by the Navy was divided into four administrative regions – Borneo, the Celebes, the Moluccas and the Lesser Sunda Islands – each administered by a branch office (*Minseibu*). The *Minseifu* at Macassar was under the command of the Officer commanding the Second Southern Fleet at Surabaya, which again fell under the Officer commanding the 7th Southern Fleet at Singapore. [1] The Navy Ministry at Tokyo determined the policy for the territory under Naval occupation.

The pre-war central authority over the Archipelago was thus eliminated by the division of the area into three occupation zones. Co-ordination of these zonal administrations could only take place at Tokyo by consultation between the Ministries of War and Navy. [2] In order to promote co-operation between the Army and Navy a Liaison office (*Bukanfu*) was set up at Batavia under the supervision of Vice-Admiral Maeda. [3]

The fundamental task of the Military Administration was to contribute as much as possible to a complete Japanese victory. The basic directives, which were issued from Japan for the guidance of the administration, aimed at the maintenance of law and order, the speedy disposal of important products and materials for the prosecution of the war and the attainment of autarchy for the occupied areas. [4]

Care was also taken to provide for the legal basis, for which the legislative authority of the Imperial Government at Tokyo delegated a part of its powers to the Supreme Commander of the Southern Areas (Field Marshal Terauchi). Decrees issued by him were not published separately in Java and this seemed to create in practice serious legal insecurity. [5] The 7th Area Army Commander and the local commanders also possessed competence to issue decrees. The *Saikoo Sikikan*, commander of the occupation Army of Java, issued *Osamu Gunritu* and *Osamu Seirei* and the *Gunseikan*, *Osamu Kanrei*. Both *Gunseikan* (Java

[1] *ibid.*, p. 35.

[2] With regard to the financial arrangement agreement was apparently reached before, since it was identical in all occupation zones. See H. J. Manschot, "Het Geld-, Bank- en Credietwezen in Nederlandsch-Indië in de Bezettingsjaren 1942–1945" in *Economisch-Statistische Berichten*, March 27, 1946.

[3] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 35.

[4] *Zyawa Nenkan*, *Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie*, 016167.

[5] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 30.

and Sumatra) could issue special decrees for the execution of decrees and orders issued at a higher level. Only the decrees of the Commander of Java (*Saikoo Sikikan*) and those of *Gunseikan* were published in an official fortnightly organ, *Osamu Kan Po,* in the Indonesian and the Japanese language. Some secret decrees, however, appeared only in the Japanese edition. [1]

The local authorities were also empowered to issue regulations for the execution of *Osamu Seirei* and *Osamu Kanrei* and also for the maintenance of public law and order. [2]

The institution of Advisory Councils at a later stage did not affect the legislative position in any way.

As regards the *Minseifu* area, *Minseirei, Kunrei,* and *Kokuzi,* issued by the heads of *Minseifu, Minseibu* and lower bodies respectively, were published in *Koohoo.* [3]

Judicial administration

With the elimination of the Governor-General, the Council of the Indies, the People's Council, the Provincial, Municipal and Regency Councils all existing competent legislative bodies disappeared. [4] The judicial organisation of the Dutch Indies soon was also shaken to its foundation. Even before the capitulation all legal security had been undermined by the promulgation of martial laws on March 2, 1942, [5] and Decree No. 1 on March 7, 1942, in which it was stated that all existing valid laws would remain provisionally in force, in so far as they were not in conflict with the regulations of the Military Government. [6]

Decree No. 14 dated April 29, 1942 by the Commander of Java and Madura announced the establishment of Law Courts of the Military Government (*Gunsei Hooin*) and the Public Prosecution of the Military Government (*Gunsei Kensatukyoku*). The existing lower judicial institutions were taken over by the *Gunsei Hooin* under Japanese names (art. 3 and 4). The former District Courts,

[1] *ibid.*
[2] See *Osamu Seirei* No. 9/1942 and *Osamu Seirei* No. 13, April 29, 1943.
[3] A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 10.
[4] J. S. Sinninghe Damsté, *Overzicht van de Japanse Oorlogsmisdrijven gepleegd tegen het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden en zijn Onderdanen*, p. 40.
[5] *Osamu Gunrei* No. 1 of March 2, 1942 contained some regulations of penal law, and by *Osamu Gunrei* No. 2 of the same date a Court Martial was instituted.
[6] Art. 3 of Decree No. 1 of the Commander of the Japanese Army. In force from the day of promulgation – art. 6.

Police Courts, County Courts, Sub-County Courts, Courts for Muslim Affairs and Priest Courts became respectively known as *Tihoo Hooin, Keizai Hooin, Ken Hooin, Gun Hooin, Kaikyoo Kootoo Hooin* and *Sooryoo Hooin.* [1] The former High Court, Superior Courts of Law and Residency Courts ceased to exist. In Batavia the new court began to function at the end of May 1942.

The regulation that the existing laws, if not in conflict with the military laws, remained in force, had wide application. In numerous judgements references were found to Dutch and Indies jurisprudence and legal literature. [2] Even in some cases justice was still administered "in the name of the Queen." Japanese discontent about this state of affairs expressed itself in the official explanation on *Osamu Seirei* No. 26 of May 10, 1944, in which the spokesman of the Japanese Department of Justice pointed out that the penal law of the Military Government should be the focus of everything, and not the Dutch Indies criminal laws which were applied frequently by the Indonesian judicial officials. [3] The Japanese living in Indonesia were wholly beyond the jurisdiction of the ordinary judges. They could be tried only by the courts of their own country, which administered justice according to Japanese law. Other differences between the groups of population vanished, so that all the defendants appeared before the same judicial bodies. Besides the lower courts which were maintained and manned by the Indonesian judges and the higher ones which disappeared, the Japanese established a High Court (*Saikoo Hooin*) and a Superior Court of Law (*Kootoo Hooin*) for the occupied area of Java and Madura. [4] These higher bodies, however, had little work to do, since the possibilities for higher appeal were practically excluded. In certain circumstances, these courts which were mainly occupied by the Japanese, could bring a case within their competence and decide it with or without the presence of defendants and witnesses. They had so little to do that the *Saikoo Hooin* was abolished on January 14, 1944 without having settled a

[1] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 36.

[2] Dept. van Justitie, *Voorlopig overzicht van de rechtspraak tijdens de Japanse bezetting* (Batavia, Juni 1946), p. 12.

[3] *ibid*, p. 24.

[4] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 36.

single case. Art. 8 of Decree No. 14 dated April 29, 1942 provided the curious regulation that the right of higher appeal could not be exercised by the parties, but only by the Commander of the Japanese Army.

In case of being found guilty they could apply for a request for mercy to the Commander, who had assumed all powers of the Governor-General. Compliance with such requests, as far as is known, did not take place. According to Japanese information, only very select persons were considered for such pardon, e.g., spies working for the Japanese. It must be admitted, however, that on some occasions, for instance the birthday of the Japanese Emperor, an absolute or partial amnesty was granted in a large scale under certain conditions. But subjects of enemy states were specifically excluded from this. [1]

Dismissal, arrest and internment of the European officials – according to Japanese statements 15,000 in number – [2] affected the whole machinery. The withdrawal of these functionaries from the judiciary, of which they formed an important part, especially those of the higher ranks and with longer experience, meant the deathblow for the administration of justice. [3] The guarantee for a proper administration appeared to be lacking because there was not a sufficient number of jurists to be found amongst the non-European group of the population, even not a reasonable number, to occupy the vacant places. In order to fill up the many vacancies, lay men were appointed in judicial jobs, such as clerks of the court. As they did not master sufficiently the Dutch language, it was difficult for them to understand grammatically the Dutch written law, which was still valid, and the application thereof. The independence of the judge, existing to a certain degree, lost its basis after the occupation; the speed of the administration of justice slowed down and the law of evidence in criminal cases was revised in such a way that by the application of new articles the administration of justice, in accordance with Western conceptions of law, should be considered out of the question. [4] Under the new regulation the central point of judicial competence passed from the

[1] Dept. van Justitie, *op. cit.*, p. 27.
[2] J. S. Sinninghe Damsté, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
[3] *ibid*, p. 41.
[4] *ibid.*

neutral judge to the police, being a party which could misuse and actually did misuse power, and worked on the arrested people beforehand in such a way with its terrible methods that there was no more any question of a normal law suit. The prosecution apparatus was strongly centralised and later on even absolutely separated from the Department of Justice, just as the Police from the Department of Interior Affairs. Both the sections were brought together in the Department of Public Security (*Tianbu*) in 1944, [1] which was under the direct control of the *Gunseikanbu*. In criminal courts with Indonesian members, a representative of the *Kempeitai* [2] attended the sessions, seated next to the Indonesian Official of the Public Prosecution, thereby exercising supervision. In practice, he determined the sentence. [3]

What it meant was further defined in a decision of the *Gunseikan* on July 12, 1943 that the existing laws and regulations remained in force as prescribed in Art. 3 of Decree No. 1. The proper way it had happened had to be made clear as soon as possible at the investigation of criminal matters, while care should be taken that as a result of a gap in the law nobody would escape just punishment. Therefore, if the judge had the belief and conviction that the defendant had committed a punishable offence, one legal proof of evidence would be considered sufficient for condemnation in future. This undermining of one of the pillars on which rested the existing legal structure led to the breakdown of the administration of penal law by further specifying that a statement of a fellow-defendant or an unsworn witness, a report of the *Kempeitai*, or even a written statement made by the victim of the manner in which the matter actually happened, might be considered as evidence.

During the session only Japanese and Malay languages were allowed. Trials by the Courts Martial proper were conducted in Japanese.

Like almost all Japanese products of legislation, the decrees with reference to the administration of justice were also very brief. [4] The extent to which the difficulty of the translation into

[1] *Doc. No.* 2750, pp. 27–28, 37.

[2] The Kempeitai was somewhat similar to the German Gestapo.

[3] *Doc. No.* 2750, pp. 37–38.

[4] Judicial decrees: *Oendang-Oendang* No. 14, Batavia, dd. April 24, 1942; id. Nos.

the Indonesian language was a contributory factor cannot be ascertained. A typical declaration of a Japanese spokesman of the Japanese Department of Justice about the provisions of the Penal Code that was introduced in 1944 may be quoted in this context: "The articles are composed very carefully, so that we consider them too long." [1] Perhaps it may be deduced from this that the brevity of the judicial ordinances might have been prompted by the desire to adhere to a phraseology which could be interpreted according to the exigencies of the situation.

B. ELIMINATION OF WESTERN INFLUENCE

The Japanese came to the Archipelago with the definite aim to eliminate all Dutch influence as quickly as possible from the life of Indonesia. The termination of all European and American influence – political, economic and cultural – was indeed one of the fundamental objects of the Asiatic Co-Prosperity plan.

We have already mentioned how some Dutch in the Outer Territories were killed during the invasion either by the Japanese or the natives. The survivors, the great majority of whom were still in Borneo and the Great East, were immediately placed under control and gradually brought together in concentration camps. [2] The threat of severe punishment which had preceded the attacks on Borneo's oil centres was repeated with the invasion of Java in the Army Order of March 2, 1942. [3] It was now specially directed to the natives who would support the Dutch in the defence, but was not eventually carried out. With this began the

31 and 32, dd. September 5, 1942; id. No. 34, dd. September 26, 1942; id. No. 35, dd. October 1, 1942.

Osamu Seirei No. 18, dd. December 15, 1942; id. No. 21, dd. July 1, 1943; *Gunseikan* regulations for execution concerning evidence in criminal cases; dd. July 12, 1943; *Osamu Seirei* No. 2, dd. January 14, 1944; id. Nos. 25 and 26, dd. May 10, 1944 and *Osamu Gunritu* Nos. 1 and 2, dd. March 2, 1942. For Sumatra an ordinance was announced by the Commander there on January 1, 1944 while in the area governed by the Navy simultaneous changes were made by an ordinance Minseiburei, No. 26, dd. Nov. 1, 1943.

[1] Dept. van Justitie, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[2] There were twelve camps in this part of Indonesia: four in Borneo (Balikpapan, Tarakan, Samarinda, Bandjermasin), four in Celebes (Macassar, Menado, Aiermadidir, Kampili), three in or near Amboina (Ambon, Haruku, Amahei in Ceram) and one (Maoemere) in Flores. The Kuching (Sarawak) camp also contained Dutch internees. See *Verslag Werkzaamheden van 1939 tot en met 1947 van het Informatiebureau van het Nederlandse Rode Kruis* (Den Haag 1948). pp. 221–222.

[3] R.O. Kartodirdjo, "De Rechtspraak op Java en Madoera tijdens de Japansche Bezetting 1942–1945", in *Tijdschrift van het Recht* (Indonesië), Jaargang 1947, p. 10.

separation of the Dutch from the Indonesian community. In Sumatra the isolation and internment of the Europeans occurred rather rapidly. The elimination of the Europeans in Java, however, was no easy affair.

Meanwhile, the advance to the North and West coast of Sumatra completed the occupation of the Archipelago. Here the action of the Japanese was more harsh than in Java: a number of officers and soldiers were shot without any trial. In some cases the sporadic opposition after the general capitulation by the Chief Command in Bandung on March 8, 1942 seems to have been the cause; in others, the killing took place at the instigation of resistance leaders who wanted to avenge the shooting of collaborators who were executed shortly before the arrival of the Japanese by order of Dutch officers on charge of rebellion against the legal authority. [1] It is true that in many cases the Japanese custody during the first weeks proved very disagreeable, but nevertheless, it provided a necessary protection against attacks by natives. [2] Only in some big plantations and factories it lasted somewhat longer before the internment took place.

In Java very few cases of murder occurred, certainly in comparison with what happened elsewhere and was still to happen in Sumatra. The Europeans here were interned by a series of measures quickly succeeding one after another. Technical difficulties in assuming the charge of administration by the Japanese were, however, so great that the rounding up of the Dutch and the completion of their internment took more than one year and a half.

Immediately after the surrender of Bandung a large number of officials were arrested evidently on the basis of lists prepared before. Sometimes, the Japanese needed very special information, such as in the case of the Directors of the Java Bank who had to give an account about the export of gold reserves. [3] It appears that the motive of the Japanese was to facilitate the establishment of the Military Administration. These measures were

[1] A. J. Piekaar, *op. cit.*, pp. 124ff., 160, 164.

[2] In Sumatra and neighbouring islands there were at least twenty-one camps: Medan, Belawan, Brastagi, Rantau-Prapat, Aik-Pamienke, Soengei-Sengkol, Padang, Pakan Baroe, Bangkinang, Tapanoeli, Pajacombo, Fort van de Capelle, Kendah, Lawè Si Galè-Galè, Langsa, Koetaradja, Palembang, Belalau, Soengei-Gerong, Muntok (Banka), and Koebang (Riouw) – *Verslag Rode Kruis*, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

[3] W. H. J. Elias, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

followed by a decree, [1] by which all foreigners of more than 17 years old were required to register themselves with the Japanese army on payment of "registration fees" [2] as well as to swear an oath of loyalty to them. Almost at the same time raids were started as a result of which those who looked like Europeans were arrested. Theoretically, there were possibilities for protection against this measure: persons of German, Italian, or neutral nationality could appeal on their status, and this was taken into consideration, although not always and without further guarantee to remain free in future. Neutrals often underwent the same fate as the Dutch and the Allies. Those who were partly of Indonesian origin could find a certain amount of protection if they had not occupied any function in public services. [3]

Because of technical reasons it took more than a year before all Europeans could be removed from the Civil Service or private enterprises. Many Dutch officials were retained provisionally in service in order to initiate their Japanese successors. If, however, the Japanese were faced with any difficulty, the experts concerned were brought from the camps and temporarily re-employed.

It seems that in the first months of the Japanese occupation the Dutch community, especially in Java, was treated moderately well. The Europeans even for some time maintained the appearance of the continuation of the old life. [4] During this period the civilian group, the leaders of which had been in the

[1] *Decree No.* 7, April 11, 1942.

[2] 150 guilders for Europeans, 75 guilders for Chinese and other non-Indonesian Asiatics.

[3] According to semi-official estimates, between 65 and 75 per cent of the total 242,000 (the figure of 1942) inhabitants of the Netherlands Indies who were classified as Europeans before the war, belonged to the Indo-European group. Competent judges, however, considered this estimate as too low and wanted to put it at 85 per cent. About 5 per cent of the Indo-Europeans held posts commanding a high salary, some 25 to 30 per cent were in medium grade jobs. See Charles Fisher, "The Eurasian Question in Indonesia", in *International Affairs, October 1947*, pp. 522, 524.

The difference in estimates may be due to a different basis: of 242,000 Europeans about 14,000 belonged to a non-white race (7000 Japanese and 9000 legally assimilated Indonesians). See Amry Vandenbosch, *The Dutch East Indies* (1944), pp. 7 ff. This writer nevertheless estimates the percentage of the Indo-Europeans at 80. So also *De Enc. N.I.*, dl. VII, under "Indo-Europese Beweging". 4 per cent of the Europeans below the age of 19 years were illiterate (*Report Visman*, dl. I., p. 66) and, therefore, would have been entirely assimilated in the way of living of the Indonesians.

[4] This gives S. Sjahrir an occasion for strong comment (*Out of Exile*, p. 237). He, however, seems to have ignored the factor of "not bowing one's will" of the Europeans against the Japanese.

Indies before the war and, therefore, knew the Dutch Government, had some influence. As the Dutch were considered to be good administrators, this group wanted to maintain the Dutch element provisionally under Japanese supervision till the different branches of the administration and economic enterprises could be transferred to Japanese – and possibly Indonesian – hands. A small part of the Dutch could be retained as advisers, but the majority should be set aside by internment. In opposition to this there was the military group, guided by high Japanese Militarists. Although both groups were of the opinion that the Dutch belonged to an inferior race and hence should be removed from the society, the second group – the Military – desired the immediate replacement of the Dutch by the Japanese, which would, besides the elimination of the Westerners, result in a greater contribution of Indonesia to the Japanese war effort. Further, the disappearance of the Dutch would minimise the chances of espionage and sabotage.

The internment of the Dutch was hastened with the appointment of ex-diplomat Hayashi, who was a member of the latter group, as the Chief Adviser of the *Gunseikanbu* – the Central Military Administration – at Batavia. After the loss of a shipfull of Japanese economists, who had worked in the Indies before the war, persons of military ranks who adhered to the ideas of Hayashi – after the Japanese "governor-general" the most powerful man in Java – were recruited. [1] Hayashi seems to have held the view that the presence of the Dutch in the Japanese administration and in the society of Java would, apart from the possibility of obstruction to be caused by them, spoil the right spirit of understanding between Japanese and Indonesians, which might be essential for the effective prosecution of the war. The Dutch were, therefore, discharged and interned, and replaced by Indonesians under Japanese supervision. The salaries of the Dutch and other Europeans whose services were indispensable were reduced, while for Indonesian employees a higher wage scale was introduced. The Dutch women and children were also put in concentration camps. The houses occupied by the Dutch were handed over to the Indonesians as far as the

[1] *R.V.O.* (referring to Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie, Amsterdam), 011231.

Japanese did not require them for themselves. Further, the supervision of the Dutch interned was more and more entrusted to the Indonesians. All these decisions were also calculated to develop a superiority-complex in the minds of the Indonesians. [1] Thus, a programme which was drawn up with care and a sense of reality, was being executed.

The accommodation in the concentration camps, primitive as they often were, still awaited the opportunity of transportation for the removal of war prisoners, [2] who were spread over a great part of the Co-Prosperity Sphere from Burma to Manchukuo. When the internment of the European group of population became complete, there were in Java alone more than 70,000 persons, of which, according to Japanese statistics, 62,532 were alive in 1945. Most of them were women and children (28,169 and 13,687 respectively). [3] If we add to this figure the prisoners of war, then the conclusion appears to be that of 370,000 persons who were listed in 1944 according to Dutch data and criteria as Europeans, two-thirds, among whom almost all were Dutch by birth, were imprisoned.

The purpose was, as we know, to exterminate the group of population, European by birth. The Japanese did not conceal their intention: they wanted to make the Europeans understand that their civilising role had come to an end for ever. With hateful sarcasm a spokesman of the new régime advised them to emigrate to the Western world, even at the moment they were being huddled into the concentration camps. [4]

Even the imprisonment of almost the entire Dutch population could hardly satisfy the Nipponese rulers. The radical change of

[1] *R.V.O.*, 011232. See also F. C. Jones, op. cit., p. 373.

[2] According to the data furnished by the Dutch Red Cross, the following prisoners of war were made by the Japanese: 65,000 men belonging to a subdivision of the Dutch Indies or Dutch Royal Army, and 25,000 Allied troops. Of 65,000 Dutch troops about 12,500 died in prison. According to different data found in Java at the time of the capitulation: about 25,000 soldiers of the Royal Netherlands Indies Army, 40,000 "city guards", about 5,000 British soldiers, 4,500–6,000 R.A.F. personnel that could not escape after the loss of the British air craft, about 3,000 Australians and one battery of field artillery with Americans (it is said 500) – (From the data of the *Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie*).

[3] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 8. The total number of civilian internees for the whole of the Archipelago is estimated at about 80,000, of which there were about 20,000 men, 35,000 women and 25,000 children (died about 8,000, 4,500 and 2,300 respectively) – according to the information of the Dutch Red Cross.

[4] D. H. Meyer, *Japan Wint den Oorlog, Documenten over Java* (Maastricht 1946), p. 33.

the society brought about by Japanese policy produced serious dislocations. The appointment of so-called competent Indonesians in important places under the supervision of often equally incompetent Japanese officials, which also resulted in social pressure upwards in the Indonesian society, [1] caused economic confusion and serious corruption. Discontent began to show itself in Java in 1943. In order to divert the attention of the masses, the Dutch were now held responsible for the prevailing disorder and deficiency, and "monstrous trials" were directed against this "all-confusing" class. Indiscriminate arrests by the *Kempeitai* followed with the most fantastic accusations, so that the prisons soon got crowded. The instruments of torture of the *Kempeitai* which worked incessantly did the rest. Confessions were often extorted by inhuman tortures, as a result of which many innocent Dutch and Indonesian sympathisers were condemned to death. [2]

Indeed, the new device had some success. The feeling of the public once more turned against the "chaos-creating" Dutch. This attitude, however, did not last long. The daily-growing shortage of foodstuffs and the threatening starvation as a consequence of misrule, as well as the withdrawal of many products from the open market for the benefit of the occupation army, were sharp weapons against the Japanese authorities themselves. They, therefore, looked for other means to mitigate the economic distress. The interned Dutch were made the victims for the second time and a new attractive solution, which suited their plans, was found.

The *Gunseikanbu* and the Army decided in 1944 to reduce considerably the quantity of food supplied to camps and prisons. The rations were cut down in such a way that one might come to the conclusion that the Japanese were executing a plan for starving the prisoners and internees to death. [3] Everything was economised. Small camps and prisons were closed, while the

[1] See G. McT. Kahin, *Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia*, (Cornell University Press, New York, Ithaca 1952), p. 102.

[2] Examples of these trials, of which the *Kempeitai* itself did not believe in the rightness of the charges and the confessions, are: the railway trial, the Magelang-guerrilla trial, the planters' trial of Djember, the "brain-trust" trial of Semarang. *R.V.O.*, 011232–011233.

[3] See David Wehl, *The Birth of Indonesia* (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London 1948), p. 4.

large ones were made overcrowded without any consideration of the most elementary notions of hygiene. The percentage of the sick, therefore, rose very rapidly, especially where there was practically no medicine and clothes. The enervated victims had still to be economically useful, for heavy manual labour was often demanded of them. It is no wonder that the Japanese rulers seemed satisfied when the number of the interned and imprisoned Europeans was diminishing. [1]

The Japanese at first seemed to have placed some hope on the Eurasians who had close affinity with the Indonesians. Their attitude towards this group of population was explained in two official declarations dated January 12, 1943 and September 19, 1943. [2] The Military Government did not consider the collaboration by this group impossible. One of the first Japanese addresses to the people of Indonesia offered the Indo-Europeans the immediate choice of either declaring themselves Indonesians or sharing the fate of the Europeans. Otherwise, it was said, they would be crushed like wood between the ship and the quay. [3] Indeed, a committee of Indo-Europeans that aimed at creating goodwill for Japan was instituted at Batavia. [4]

The Japanese rulers, however, had little success in spite of their threats and temptations, and at a later stage the Indo-Europeans were subjected to severe measures which depended on their blood-relationship with Europe. After compulsory registration had been introduced, the Indo-Europeans, according to their descent, were classified into eight categories in proportion to the percentage of the presence of European blood. [5] A large number of them finally shared the fate of those European-born and almost 10 per cent of the population of the mixed race, it is said, died in Japanese or later Indonesian internment, though this figure is difficult to verify.

The attitude of the occupiers towards the other non-natives, the Chinese, Indians and Arabs, was different from that which was foreseen in the plans. One of the main tasks of the *Kempeitai*

[1] *R.V.O.*, 011233.

[2] A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 69. *Osamu Kanpo* (J) *No.* 2, p. 8 and *Osamu Kanpo* (M) *No.* 27, pp. 12–13.

[3] W. H. J. Elias, *op. cit.*, *p.* 107. A remarkable word, seen in the light of later events.

[4] W. H. J. Elias, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

[5] *ibid.*, p. 108.

was to eliminate all elements loyal to the Chiang Kai-shek régime. But other Chinese were also interned or taken to the *Kempeitai* prisons, some because of assisting the Europeans, others because of disobedience to the occupation regulations. Still others were extirpated because of suspicion of communist ideas. According to the plan prepared at Tokyo, a large part of the Chinese population should have been expelled, but it never happened. The other foreign Easterners were not disturbed owing to their descent. "Islam" and "Liberation from the yoke of the infidels" were propaganda slogans which were dear to the political plan-makers in Tokyo. For this reason, discrimination against the Arabs would have fitted very badly in their plan of action.

As the internment of the European group of population would have to end with their complete elimination, the Japanese rulers immediately put an end to the old social status enjoyed by them. They were deprived of their special position in the judicial branch of the administration, in civil affairs, and their right of bringing criminal cases before the Superior Courts of Justice. Their properties were placed under the control of *Tekisan Kanribu* (Enemy Property Administration Bureau). Payment of pensions was discontinued. Their bank accounts were blocked. House rents were reduced to half. Their income tax and property taxes were greatly increased.[1] Cars were requisitioned. The European schools were closed down. Dutch was no longer permitted to be used in correspondence.[2] The censorship established by the Japanese allowed only Japanese and Indonesian to be written languages. The postal and telegraphic service followed this example and prohibited the use of Dutch and English in telephonic communication.[3] It was even forbidden to preach in Dutch. The Total War Research Institute had indeed prescribed that the use of Western languages should be at once banished from the Southern Sea Areas. The possession of books in Western languages also constituted a punishable offence, but the Japanese did not seem to have sufficient time like Sultan Agung of the 17th century to wipe out the knowledge of the

[1] These measures had also economic-political significance as we shall see later.
[2] W. H. J. Elias, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–54.
[3] *Kan Po*, November 6, 1942.

past. Had the Japanese not left intact the libraries and archives, their "campaign of forgetfulness" would have been a counterpart of Sultan Agung's against the pre-Islamic tradition. [1]

The immediate elimination of the Europeans from the life of the Archipelago was meant to be a symbol of the new era which Indonesia would experience, according to Japanese plans. With the Europeans would disappear all the Western influence and would also be cut off the thousand-fold connections which the old Netherlands Indies had with the economy of the world dominated so long by the West. To symbolise this all "colonial" monuments were removed. [2] The statues of Coen, Van Heutz and even the Lion of Waterloo disappeared from the public squares.

The elimination of Western influence was accompanied by a policy of Japanisation. As we have already seen, the experts of the Total War Research Institute laid great emphasis on Japan's cultural hegemony in the Co-Prosperity Sphere. This policy took shape almost immediately after the arrival of the Japanese troops in Java. *Kigenreki*, the Japanese calendar, replaced the Western one. So, 1942 became 2602. The Land of the Rising Sun should henceforth be called *Nippon* or *Dai Nippon*. The use of foreign names such as *Japan* was strongly forbidden. [3] Dutch names of places, streets and squares, whether they reminded the people of historical persons and facts or not, were changed into Japanese and Indonesian. Java was thus renamed Djawa and Batavia, Djakarta. Harmonieplein and Oranje Boulevard respectively became *Yamato Basi* and *Syoowa Doori*. Names of commercial concerns, trademarks, shops and even hotels were changed into Japanese; Hotel des Indes, for instance, came to be called *Miyako Hoteru*. [4] The use of Japanese words was also introduced for the designation of official services, offices, their chiefs, etc. This use of Japanese words gradually gained such prevalence that it was scarcely possible to read a

[1] B. H. M. Vlekke, *Geschiedenis van den Indischen Archipel* (J. J. Romen & Zonen, Roermond-Maaseik 1947), pp. 130–131.

[2] According to a Dutch view, it was necessary "because the presence of everything Dutch reminded the Indonesian in many respects of the happy old order" (G.W. Overdijkink, *Het Indonesische Probleem, De Feiten*, Martinus Nijhoff, 's-Gravenhage 1946, p. 23).

[3] *Decree No.* 15, April 29, 1942. See also A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[4] A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

Malay newspaper without some knowledge of the Japanese language. Even the Japanese solar time was introduced, so that the sun was no longer rose at 6 o'clock but only at half past seven in the morning. [1]

All public gatherings and meetings were commenced with the obligatory bow in the direction of Tokyo. All Japanese days of celebration, such as the Emperor's birthday (*Tentyoosetu*, April 29), Meiji day (*Meijisetu*, November 3), the Empire's birthday (*Kigensetu*, February 11), were declared to be days of public rejoicings. The display of any flag other than the Japanese one was forbidden. [2] On the above-mentioned days of celebration the Japanese flag had to be flown on all official and private buildings. For private individuals, exact rules regarding the measurement of the Japanese flag and the way it was to be displayed were prescribed. [3] New days of celebration were also introduced: the remembrance day of the outbreak of the Great Asiatic War (December 8); the remembrance of the fall of the Netherlands Indies authority (March 9). [4]

This policy of Japanisation went hand in hand with a determined effort to promote the spread of the Japanese language. "Their aim", says Elsbree, "was to make Japanese the *lingua franca* of Asia and they regarded the language program as the necessary first step in their plan to bring the blessings of Japanese civilization to the less advanced peoples of Asia." [5] Schools which exclusively provided the teaching of the Japanese language appeared throughout the Archipelago. In the schools reopened under Japanese supervision, Indonesian was no doubt the standard language of instruction, but Japanese was made a compulsory subject. The singing of Japanese songs and games in the Japanese language were prescribed everywhere. In private correspondence also, Japanese, besides Malay, was to be encouraged. In short, Japanese was to be considered superior to any other language. The attention was indeed fixed in all respects on the excellence of the Japanese, their Emperor, the Japanese institutions and ideologies.

[1] *Decree No.* 6, March 27, 1942; *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 16; A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
[2] At a later stage the display of the Indonesian flag was allowed.
[3] *Decree No.* 11, April 29, 1942; *Decree No.* 8, April 11, 1942.
[4] A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 74; *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 17.
[5] W. H. Elsbree, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

"So thoroughly impregnated with the principle of *Hakko Ichiu* was the whole Japanese dream of conquest that they poured almost equal energy into moulding the Indonesians in the image of the Japanese 'gods'." [1] The Japanese attempts at cultural indoctrination of the Indonesian people, therefore, greatly exceeded wartime utilitarian considerations. Their ultimate objective appeared to have been to absorb the people of the Archipelago into a completely Japanese-orientated East Asiatic community.

To realize their dream the Nipponese rulers seemed to have depended much on propaganda, the importance of which can be estimated from the fact that a separate Department of Propaganda (*Sendenbu*) was created. With the prohibition of Dutch and the introduction of censorship, "all Dutch language papers were closed and their printing plants taken over by the Japanese. All semblance of a free press completely vanished." [2] The whole press was then reorganised on the basis of the Japanese propaganda system, which permitted some Malay papers to be published under the editorship of Japanese or mixed Japanese-Indonesians with the main purpose of educating the Indonesian people to the ideology of Great East Asia. Through the *Djawa Shinbun Kai* (a semi-official body), the *Hodohan* (the civil administrative body) and the *Kenetsu Han* (the military administrative body), the whole Indonesian press was socio-economically "supported", while the trend of the news was controlled by the occupation administration.[3] *Domei*, the Japanese news agency, replaced *Aneta*, the Dutch counterpart. Among the Malay papers, *Asia Raya* (Greater Asia) was the most prominent. Semi-official Japanese newspapers, such as *Djawa Shimbun*, were also published from Batavia. [4] Anxious to reach the largest possible number of people in their propaganda campaign, the Japanese made use also of radios, loudspeakers, Japanese films and, somewhat later, theatrical performances.

The re-education of the Indonesian people, however, had to

[1] V. Thompson, "Japan's Blueprint for Indonesia", *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol V., 1945–1946, p. 201.

[2] M. Lubis, "The Press in Indonesia", *Far Eastern Survey*, June 4, 1952, p. 92.

[3] R. Abdulgani, "The National Press and its Social Function", *Indonesian Affairs*, Vol. II, No. 4, August-September 1952, p. 26.

[4] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 15, A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

find its completion naturally in a reform of the educational system, since "the Japanese were much impressed with the potentialities of education as a means of achieving their goal." [1] "The most profound of all means available to propaganda", writes a member of the Military Administration of Singapore, "is education. This can be shaped and altered at will to suit the policy to be propagandised. From early childhood the child's mind can be made to assimilate teachings which are conducive to the creation of a feeling of loyalty and to the awakening of a national consciousness." [2] The reformed education, therefore, aimed at spreading the new ideology especially among the new generation on the basis of which a stable foundation could be laid for the future. The new educational policy had already been determined in broad outlines at the beginning of 1942 in Tokyo. [3]

With Japanese becoming the *lingua franca* of the Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, the Land of the Mikado would be the only scientific centre for that part of the world. The results of Western science could become known in the associated territories only through Japan. This promised little benefit for the natives' knowledge of science in these areas, but the curtailment of intellectual growth meant a serious blow to the new rulers. This was particularly evident in Indonesia, where the lectures in the Indies Medical School were resumed after one year and that at a lower scientific level, while at the same time the Dutch Indies Law School was reopened, in which the students in one year's time were imparted the principles of law, enriched with instructions in Japanese and Japanese culture, after which they were considered eligible for acting as judges and public prosecutors. [4] University education was indeed made possible for a very small number of Indonesians, but only in Japan. [5]

[1] W. H. Elsbree, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

[2] From an article by T. Fujimori of the Propaganda Department in the *Shonan Shimbun*, September 5, 1942. Quoted in W. H. Elsbree, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

[3] See the Plan of the Total War Research Institute of February 18, 1942: *Hoover Doc. No.* 1621C; Summary in *Timetable No.* 128, referring to *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1335.

[4] R.O. Kartodirdjo, "De Rechtspraak op Java en Madoera tijdens de Japansche Bezetting 1942–1945," *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[5] In the beginning of 1943 twenty students were sent to Japan (D.H. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 43). Numbers of Atjenese got the same chance (A. J. Piekaar, *op. cit.*, pp. 211, 226, 272). Other parts of the Archipelago also were undoubtedly given the same chance. Students of Sumatra for medical science were not sent to Batavia, but to Singapore, on the basis of the new political division. According to *Foreign Students*

So, the occupants did not care for a thorough scientific training for their Indonesian friends. They, however, energetically pursued the aim of increasing the number of semi-intellectuals, who were most pliable for political indoctrination: cut off from their ancestral tradition and not capable of critical judgement, they could be made fanatics for the few ideas which they had made their own and which were their only authority for the role of leadership pretended by them over the masses. What they had learnt could be of use to them only in the Japanese order. These kinds of intellectual forerunners were trained by the Japanese in a two-fold way: more thoroughly in "Training Schools for the youth of Great East Asia", of which one had been established in Batavia in August 1942 and another at Singapore for Sumatra and the Malaya Peninsula, and in short term courses: training for government officials in three months, competence for teaching Japanese in three months, competence for teaching Indonesian in two months, and, besides the knowledge of many other subjects that could be acquired in record time, such as competence for teaching in art and cultivating silkworms in one month. [1] The Training Schools for the youth of Great East Asia had to provide "political fighters", who received training in physical exercises, hygiene, methodology of propaganda and Japanese orientated history and economics. In these schools the young people were made extremist leaders, who, as later events showed, could become equally dangerous for Japan as for the hated Western powers with the adverse circumstances of the war. [2]

The reform of the existing schools [3] was also immediately taken up, but here the task was not so simple. As happened in other occupied areas, all schools were initially closed. Besides the

in Japan, 1896–1947 (United States Government publication. Special report prepared by Education Research Branch, Research Unit, 1948, Dept. of State), p. 22, Table 4, the number of Indonesian students who came to Japan during the war was as follows: Java: 44; Sumatra: 16; Celebes: 11; Borneo: 9; Ceram: 3. See W. H. Elsbree, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[1] A. J. Piekaar, *op. cit.*, p. 270. In other areas certainly the same system was followed.

[2] About the school in Batavia see G. W. Overdijkink, *op. cit.*, p. 25 and D. H. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

Meyer mentions the names of Indonesian teachers in that school: S. Mangunwirono, M. Mochadi, H. P. L. Tobing, Dr. Raden Mochtar, Dr. Abu Hanifah, Dr. R. M. Slamet Sudibyo, R. Samsusin, R. Sukardjo Wirjopranoto, Ir. Kastan and Moh. Tohir.

[3] See A. A. Zorab. *op. cit.*, pp. 101–103.

schools of the Western type, the Chinese ones were also affected. The former ones were paralysed by the internment of European teachers, and the Chinese teachers certainly needed time to reflect on what could still be said in the class and what was not. The resumption of teaching[1] was permitted only in Indonesian schools "with their textbooks and curricula reshaped to inculcate anti-Western, pro-Japanese, and pan-Asiatic doctrines."[2] In the reopened schools there was a dearth of qualified and experienced teachers, because the Indonesians with pre-war teachers' training could get better pay and more influential positions during the occupation than they had had in the past. In the Revolution of 1945 they played a great role as officers of the new army and as higher government officials. The teachers trained hurriedly by the Japanese lacked the expert knowledge of their pre-war colleagues, but surpassed them without any doubt in enthusiasm for physical exercises, militarism and hero-worship, and for this reason alone the national schools got a marked political-military character. It is difficult, however, to trace what remained under the circumstances in 1945 of this education for the Indonesians.

Outside Java the situation became still worse, because of the dislike of the teachers born in Java to continue to work in a surrounding where local or regional chauvinism made life at least very difficult for them, if not threatened.[3] The adverse situation of the war for the Japanese rulers, however, made possible again many things that had been forbidden earlier, and the Chinese, for instance, obtained limited freedom of education.

Thus, the standard of the national schools under Japanese supervision was bound to fall, while their direction changed. It is true that a part of the book knowledge existing during the Dutch rule and after the example of the schools in the mother country in the more western styled schools disappeared. But what did come in its place? What would be the standard of the secondary high schools and who would be the teachers? We know a curriculum for a secondary high school, from which again it

[1] *Decree No.* 12, April 29, 1942.
[2] F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 372.
[3] A. J. Piekaar, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

appears how education in the occupied areas was designed to serve the Japanese policy: Five groups of subjects were introduced – sixteen hours per week, which amounted to 40 per cent of the available time, were devoted to the first group, that of Civics, which included, *inter alia*, Japanese, Malay, geography and history, especially the history of the origin of the Japanese Empire; ten hours per week were allotted to the second group – natural sciences; to the group of fine arts (drawing, music and handicraft) and that of physical training and military ethics, three hours and six hours were assigned respectively; the last group got four hours in practical subjects, such as technical instruction and commercial knowledge. [1] Whether this programme was ever implemented appears to be vague.

The Military Government nominally entrusted the control of education to Indonesian hands. In Java, after some hesitation from the Japanese side but on the insistence of Mansur, the former Director of Education, Prof. Hussain Djajadiningrat was invited. [2] He had, however, little power or influence. Only on request he could act as adviser to the Japanese who ruled in fact.

Seen through Indonesian eyes, the Japanese policy, though aimed at the Japanisation of the Archipelago, led to certain positive results. The Indonesian language, which was already making progress before the invasion under the influence of the rise of the nationalist movement, [3] received a tremendous impetus during the Japanese occupation. Since Japanese was little known in the Archipelago, Indonesian, in effect, became the only practicable means of communication. As a consequence its development took place very rapidly, "assisted by its absorption of words and phrases from the various regional dialects and its acquisition to some degree of a modern terminology drawn from foreign languages." [4] The Language Commission [5],

[1] A. J. Piekaar, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

[2] The Japanese objections against H. Djajadiningrat were raised even from the time before the occupation owing to his well-known anti-Japanese feelings and close connections with the Dutch. His brother, Lockman Djajadiningrat had been with Dr. van Mook in Australia and America. Sumatra had no Dept. of Education of her own but was placed under that of Singapore (A. J. Piekaar, *op. cit.*, p. 252).

[3] T. Alisjahbana, "The Indonesian Language: By-product of Nationalism", *Pacific Affairs*, December 1949, pp. 388–389.

[4] F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 373. See also T. Alisjahbana, *op. cit.*, pp. 389–390.

[5] A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 75; W. H. Elsbree, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–123. *Kan Po No.* 9, December 1942.

which was set up by the Japanese with a view to purify the Indonesian language particularly from the use of foreign technical terms, published from time to time in the Japanese official organ, *Kan Po*, lists of Indonesian words translated from the Dutch. Such commissions were also established in other occupation zones. Besides, some Japanese books were translated into Indonesian. Further, "unlike the Dutch system which contained a great variety of schools, public and private, the new one was comprised of standardized national schools for which tuition was free and with a uniform curriculum." [1] The introduction of only one system had some leveling influence, since it compelled most of the formerly well-to-do Indonesians to send their children to the national schools. [2]

In pursuance of their policy of re-educating the people of the Archipelago to the Great East Asia idea, the Japanese also made extensive use of *Keimin Bunka Sidoosyo*, a cultural corporation, which was founded in Batavia in April 1943. [3] Any artist who wanted to make public any creation of art had to be a member of this corporation. "Paintings and other artistic expressions were adjudged, not on their artistic value, but solely on their merits in relation to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere". [4] It, however, emphasised the importance of a truly Oriental artistic expression. Along with it, exhibitions of native arts of "New Java" were organised. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the Japanese policy produced important effects in stimulating some consciousness of unity among the Indonesian people, which the Japanese rulers could hardly foresee.

Another striking feature of the Japanese policy was the attempt to integrate the diverse Christian communities of Indonesia. Their plans for the spiritual synthesis of Great East Asia had reached further than the equalisation of the educational system. Religious ties with the West would not be tolerated like the political or economic in the long run. The leaders of the new Japanese realm could not start fighting openly against Christianity. Gradually, however, the Christian churches would

[1] W. H. Elsbree, *op. cit.*, p. 130.
[2] See *ibid.*, p. 131.
[3] A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, pp. 98, 103.
[4] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 50.

be eliminated from the East.[1] The internment of European missionaries and the pastors and priests working among the European congregations and parishes immediately after the occupation of Indonesia pointed in this direction. For as far as the native pastors and priests could not take upon themselves the care of Indonesian Christians, the latter had to remain without any spiritual assistance. From the very beginning the native christians were under suspicion of pro-Allied sentiments, and not unjustly, because throughout the Archipelago the Amboinese officials and ex-soldiers, for instance, were involved in every underground movement. More than one hundred pastors in the Great East became the victims of the Japanese oppression. The missionary schools, of course, remained closed like all other schools with Western character. The diversity of the Protestant churches could not be understood by the occupants and, therefore, they ordered a federation of the churches, which they wanted to be conducted by Japanese clergymen. This did not succeed and hence, the animosity towards the native christians increased.[2] Japanese priests and pastors seemed to be transferred from the mother country only in exceptional circumstances.[3]

C. ECONOMIC REORGANISATION

One of the most remarkable features of the Japanese occupation policy in Indonesia was their attempt at economic reorganisation of the Archipelago, since its pre-war economic structure did not fit in with their conception of an autarchic Great East Asia.

Indonesia had been primarily a producer of raw materials for Western Europe and America. During the Dutch rule she could compete in the world market with other similar economic areas in South East Asia: with the tin and rubber producers of the Malaya peninsula, with the sugar manufacturers of the

[1] See the Plan of February 18, 1942 as well as the article of Hashimoto in *Taiyo Dai Nippon*, January 5, 1942 already quoted.

[2] M. de Niet Gz., *Zending, Indonesië en Nederland* (Uitgave van het Nederlands Jongelings Verbond, Singel 58, Amsterdam-Centrum 1946), pp. 16–19. The writer, however, mentions also that Japanese pastors had defended the Indonesian church in Minahassa.

[3] That after one year of occupation the performance of the Christian Service was no longer permitted (W. H. J. Elias, *op. cit.*, p. 113) is absolutely wrong.

Philippines and British India, and with the tea and tobacco planters of India, Ceylon and America. She had virtually a monopoly in quinine. In the production of oil she had practically no competitor in East Asia. During the World Economic Crisis a limitation in the output was thought to be necessary, which was arrived at by mutual consultation between the Netherlands Indies and other producers of these materials. This agreement, however, was reached wholly in consonance with the economic relations with the Western world. The West organised the production of raw materials and protected to a certain extent the exports of the Western countries to the Indies, when they were threatened after 1931 by the Japanese competition, considered to be unfair. The West also stimulated the food production in certain areas, in so far as it appeared impossible for the various parts of South East Asia to provide for their own food. Burma, Siam and Indo-China used to supply to the adjacent peninsula and the islands which were somewhat deficit in the production of rice.

So, the Japanese had to reorientate the economy of the Southern Sea Areas entirely in a new way, and for this purpose they had drafted, as we have already discussed [1], plans which were presented by a Cabinet Commission (Sixth Committee) on December 12, 1941 and discussed, four days later, in the Cabinet session. As to the purpose of the economic policy, the acquisition of resources for the prosecution of the war was given first priority, and the autarchy of the Co-Prosperity Sphere came second. It was clearly stated in these plans that the economy of the various territories would be directly transformed to achieve the first objective, and every region of the Co-Prosperity Sphere would be made self-sufficient, especially in food, as much as possible.

Since the Military leaders, who were in possession of these areas, completely failed in tackling the second aspect of their undertaking, the implementation of the economic plans was rudely disturbed. Even if the war had ended in a complete victory for Japan within a short time, the reorientation of

[1] See Chapter VI (Part I): *Hoover Doc. No.* 1492: "Outline of the Economic Counter-Plans for the Southern Area", December 12, 1941; Summary in *Timetable No.* 124, referring to *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1332.

South East Asiatic economy would have been a heavy task, which would have inevitably caused confusion and misery in a number of regions, even apart from the selfish Japanese intentions. As it actually happened, much of the old was broken down and little of the new was built up, and even that little, which lacked any basis, disappeared in 1945. Chaos was the natural result. [1]

The Japanese Empire to be founded would have comprised most of the areas for the production of cinchona, rubber and tin which, before 1940, satisfied a greater part of the needs of the whole world in these materials. As a result of the occupation of Sumatra and Borneo, that empire would be in sole possession of the important oil fields that were being exploited in East Asia. She would, however, have too little cotton and minerals except tin and oil. It might have been difficult to produce within the borders of that empire the foodstuffs necessary for her 700,000,000 inhabitants.

With the existing means of production the empire would have produced more sugar than could be consumed, unless the standard of living was to be raised in the different parts, which was certainly not the intention of the Japanese for the first few decades. The same was true in the case of the production of tea and coffee. In other cases perhaps the capacity of production was not too high, but the location of the production centres did not harmonise with the Japanese plans. And because the empire would keep out foreign economic activity as much as possible, an enormous shortage of shipping space would be expected even in time of peace.

Therefore, the integration of the East Asiatic countries raised a number of problems. The Japanese could make it easier for themselves than the planners of the European integration of to-day, because nothing prevented them from restricting the sovereignty of the Asiatic vassal states as they liked, and placing the interest of Japan in the integration above everything else, even if this brought misery for millions of co-Asiatics. On the other hand, for the sake of the stability of the new empire, attention had to be given to offset the possible detrimental effects of the integration measures, lest misery and disappoint-

[1] Therefore, economically, according to this view, a chaotic situation would have followed on a Japanese defeat, apart from the intentions of the Japanese in 1944–1945.

ment should one day develop into a breeding ground for anti-Japanese resistance.

The problems of co-ordination of the territories of the Co-Prosperity Sphere, however, made it necessary to set up a new government department at Tokyo – the Greater East Asia Ministry on November 1, 1942. The exploitation of the occupied areas made heavy demands upon the resources of the big Japanese concerns, which were in need of help from the state treasury. But this was not achieved without involving in a bitter conflict the different groups in power – the supporters of a military totalitarianism, the *Zaibatsu*, and the more conservative and prudent personalities in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and others. Premier Tojo incessantly insisted on the merging of smaller enterprises with bigger ones, which certainly complied with the wishes of the *Zaibatsu* but which made them, in their opinion, too dependent on the official financing institutions. [1] Tojo, who evidently felt the urgent need for total mobilisation of the Japanese powers of production, wanted to institute from the beginning a national distribution of labour and raw materials. For this reason he also desired to have direct control over a number of ministries, which should be formally made subordinate to the Premiership. Three sessions of the Parliament appeared to be necessary to push through the laws concerned. All this, together with the continued defective manner in which the economic mobilisation worked, proved that the co-operation between the radical military clique and the financiers was not very heartfelt. Even after six months, Tojo had made no use of the special powers conferred on him. [2] This internal conflict seemed to be a serious obstacle in the way of the execution of the integration plans.

Unfortunately for the Japanese planners, the prosecution of the war further disturbed them in their undertaking which was already so hazardous. The greater part of the shipping space of about 5½ million tons which was available in 1942 [3] had to be

[1] T. A. Bisson, in *Japan's War Economy* mentions (p. 79) the National Financial Control Association, which was supposed to have been instituted at the desire of the *Zaibatsu*. He further speaks of "a bitter struggle" in the Parliament and of strong opposition to Tojo's dictatorship (p. 97). This resistance could not have taken place under the then Japanese relations without powerful support by the *Zaibatsu*.

[2] T. A. Bisson, *op. cit.*, pp. 77–102. See also F. C. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 334–337.

[3] See J. B. Cohen, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

placed in the service of troops and transport of supply, and even this had begun to diminish at a rapid pace from the beginning of 1943. Practically nothing was left for the transport of goods between the islands, Burma, Indo-China and Japan. Shipbuilding therefore, obtained priority in the preference list of the Militarists for the East Asiatic industry [1].

The problem of fuel supply for airplanes and ships was equally important as that of transport. The result for Indonesia was that the exploitation of the oil fields had to be resumed as early as possible. The Japanese Army Command had tried its utmost to prevent the destruction of the oil installations in Borneo and Sumatra, but they had evidently prepared themselves, assuming that this destruction would take place. In a short time, therefore, several oil fields and refineries were restored to action [2].

The transport problem inexorably demanded that no ships should remain at the disposal of the transport of foodstuffs and other goods, except possibly small vessels with a capacity of a maximum of 500 tons [3]. And even these small ships were required for the transport of troops, if they were motorised. In Indonesia Japanese companies were established with government subsidies, which would start building wooden ships of 100 to 500 tons, and also factories for the construction of engines for ships. The plan did not go far enough, although tens of millions of guilders were spent. [4] "Shipbuilding, on which the Japanese concentrated their greatest efforts and for which vast areas of Indonesia's forests were sacrificed", observes a writer, "achieved little more than a few coastal vessels, even according to Japanese claims. Their inability to build engines locally derived from the same shortages – those of machinery and of skilled and co-operative labour." [5]

Therefore, first by policy and then by necessity, the Japanese

[1] See *Hoover Doc. No.* 1492, *op. cit.*

[2] It is interesting to note that the rapid restoration of some of the oil fields was made possible by the fact that Japan, according to the Board of Economic Warfare (U.S.), imported substantial amounts of oil-field equipment from the United States in the three years prior to Pearl Harbour – *New York Herald Tribune*, Agust 9, 1942; Japan had "floating refineries ready for immediate exploitation of the oil fields they planned to seize" – *The Chicago Daily News*, July 13, 1942.

[3] See *Hoover Doc. No.* 1492, *op. cit.*,

[4] H. J. Manschot, "Het Geld-, Bank- en Credietwezen in Nederlandsch-Indië in de Bezettingsjaren 1942–1945" in *Economisch-Statistische Berichten*, March 27, 1946.

[5] Virginia Thompson, "Japan's Blueprint for Indonesia" in *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, Vol. 5, 1945–1946, p. 204.

had to concentrate on the self-sufficiency of each region. "In Japanese eyes this had the double advantage of cutting out imports from Japan and from other islands – all of which saved shipping space – and of making each area economically better able to sustain a possible Allied attack." [1] The rice production had to be increased. Land for the cultivation of rice could be found in those enterprises which produced non-essential crops for Japan, or those which would be "surplus" if the integration plan was carried out. In Indonesia a major part of the tobacco enterprises in Sumatra, and also the rubber and tea plantations were considered to be available for this. Most of the fields leased for sugar plant production could also be returned to the native farmers. The war effort demanded, on the contrary, that cinchona plantations should be retained entirely. While the palm oil production was reduced to a fraction of the pre-war level, new oil-producing crops to satisfy the need for lubricating oil were introduced [2]. The production of tin could be restricted, that of nickel, copper, etc. should be stimulated, and a thorough investigation of the possibility of making available other minerals necessary for the conduct of the war led finally to new enterprises. [3] According to the integration plan, the production of silk and cotton, which Japan needed for her textile industries, should be started in Indonesia. [4] She succeeded, however, only on a small scale. The war did not offer time for long-lasting experiments.

Very little of the integration plans was thus realised. After more than a year the shipping space had already become the most pressing problem. The Americans had landed on August 7, 1942 in Guadalcanal, which served as an anvil on which the Japanese resistance was smashed to pieces during the battle. The enormous losses suffered by Japan there abundantly demonstrated that she needed every sea-worthy ship for the continuation of the struggle. The ever-increasing powerful American submarine attacks threatened the line of communication between Japan and the Southern Areas. For this reason

[1] *ibid.*, p. 202.

[2] Especially Djarak. See P. M. Prillwitz, "De Ondernemingslandbouw tijdens de Japansche Bezetting" in *Economisch Weekblad voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, March 2, 1946.

[3] See *Hoover Doc. Nos.* 1492 and 1621C, *op. cit.*

[4] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 71.

also, economical use of the available shipping space was felt to be necessary.

With this background of general events, the Japanese economic policy in occupied Indonesia becomes clear. Shortly after the establishment of the Military Government all enterprises were placed under the supervision of Japanese offices (in this case all existing central bureaux were brought under Japanese control). By Decree No. 22 of July 5, 1942 an institution for the management of agricultural enterprises was set up. [1] Government enterprises and private estates were supervised by separate institutions. Private estates, especially in the region of Batavia and Buitenzorg, were appropriated without the payment of any compensation to the owners. This was effected by Decree No. 17 of June 1, 1942. The sugar enterprises were not included in this, for they could be easily controlled through existing authorities. Also smaller undertakings (rubber plantations of 25 ha. or less, coffee plantations with a yearly output of 200 quintals or less, tea enterprises of 50 ha. or smaller) were exempted in order to set free the production of the population and that of non-Europeans. [2]

The Decree of July 5, 1942 provided for "the maintenance of important culture enterprises" and "the protection of the welfare of the people." The term "important" left complete freedom of action to the Japanese as it was only the occupants who would decide which *cultures* were important at a certain moment. The monopoly of buying and selling the products of these agricultural enterprises was given to the *S.K.K.K.* (the Agricultural Industrial Control Board). It soon appeared that the stocks available on March 8, 1942, either in Dutch or Allied possession, were considered to be war booty. [3] Specially strict measures were taken for the cinchona enterprises, [4] which were obliged to

[1] *Saibai Kigyo Kanri Kodan.* Text of this Decree is given in *Economisch Weekblad voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, July 6, 1946.

[2] P. M. Prillwitz, "De Ondernemingslandbouw tijdens de Japansche Bezetting", *op. cit.*

[3] Such war-booty was then shipped by the Japanese for the supplies of the mother country and the Army, or for sale elsewhere, by which huge quantities were lost or administratively "got lost". After the invasion, among others, 15,000 packages of tobacco were removed from Deli to Singapore, a part of which was spoiled by rains in Singapore and the rest found scattered over the whole of East Asia after the capitulation ("De tabakscultuur in Deli gedurende de bezettingsjaren 1942–1945" in *Economische Voorlichting*, August 27, 1948, according to *Economisch Weekblad voor Indonesië*).

[4] Chapter II of *Decree No.* 22, July 5, 1942.

supply the quantity of cinchona determined by the government. For rubber an exactly opposite regulation was applied [1], as the tapping of the trees was forbidden without the instruction of the Military Administration.

The tea *culture* was paralysed in the same way. The plantation of tobacco in Deli was retained for a long time under the control of a Japanese concern, for this could be a good source for earning foreign exchange. Here the harvests of 1942 and 1943 were collected with success. The production of 1943 which amounted to 40,000 bales, surpassed that of 1942. [2] After 1943, however, the Japanese changed their policy, and the whole cultivation area of 250,000 ha. was parcelled out amongst the population. Finally, as the *S.K.K.* strictly kept in its own hands the financing of all enterprises, it had consequently the means to stimulate or stop any enterprise at any moment.

The yield of 1943 shows how effective the measures of the occupants had been. More than 15,000 tons of cinchona were produced, which was certainly high compared with the average of 1937–1940. In Java the rubber production reached only one-fifth of the level of 1941; in Sumatra it was even less. Of a total of 220 tea factories 170 were put out of action. The output was reduced to one-third of the pre-war level, and as a special drastic measure it was ordered to cut down the tea cultivation area from 105,000 ha. to 35,000. [3]

The sugar enterprises had remained outside the jurisdiction of the *S.K.K.*, since the state of affairs in this undertaking and its great importance to the native population of East and Central Java had demanded immediate provision. The harvest was in the field, and on the processing of that crop depended not only the fate of the Western-directed enterprises, but also that of the great mass of the Javanese, who earned their livelihood by working in the factories and letting out their land. [4] The production of that crop was estimated at 1,350,000 tons in the case

[1] Chapter IV of *Decree No.* 22, July 5, 1942.

[2] See "De tabakscultuur in Deli gedurende de bezettingsjaren 1942–1945" in *Economische Voorlichting*, August 27, 1948.

[3] See the earlier-mentioned article of P. M. Prillwitz, and also J. H. Voigt, "Aanteekeningen betreffende de Thee-ondernemingen op Java gedurende de Japansche Bezetting", in *Economisch Weekblad voor Ned.-Indië*, August 24, 1946.

[4] G. Rodenburg, "De Suikerindustrie op Java tijdens de Japansche bezetting (I), (II)", in *Economisch Weekblad voor Ned.-Indië*, April 13 and 20, 1946.

of complete processing, while for the following year a new plantation was prepared, which would yield about 1,500,000 tons.

In the beginning the Japanese authorities appeared to be willing to favour the proposals of the enterprisers. The harvest of 1942 could be entirely processed, which yielded 1,311,235 tons, but their promise for a similar production in 1943 was annulled by the highest authority. Such a big output by the industry in Java did not correspond with the scheme of "integration", in which Japan herself (including Formosa) wanted to be the principal sugar producer. [1] On June 1, 1942 the sugar industry was brought under the control of a Japanese bureau (*Togyo Rengo Kai*), in expectation of a regulation, which would definitely place the industry into Japanese hands. Until all this could be achieved, European administrators in the various industries were maintained. After the transfer of property had taken place and their Japanese successors had been initiated, these Europeans were also interned. This was done in the sugar enterprises in August 1943 and the following months, in others, sometimes only in 1944. Meanwhile, the Japanese control had been reorganised: the different management offices for separate branches of agriculture were brought together under the organ for the administration of agricultural industries (*S.K.K.* = *Saibai Kigyo Kodan*) by a Decree of June 18, 1943. This institution had to prepare the transfer of the enterprises to Japanese buyers. After the fulfilment of that rather easy task, it was dissolved by a Decree of June 1, 1944 and the new Japanese owners were placed in possession of the industries. [2] The possibility for exploitation, however, remained absolutely dependent on the granting of credit by the banks.

The new authorities did not consider it proper to invest the natives with the economic position taken away from the Europeans. Everything was prepared long before to provide the

[1] According to Japanese estimates, the surplus production of sugar in peacetime in Greater East Asia amounted to about 2,010,000 tons (production 4,410,000 tons, consumption 2,400,000 tons). In order to obtain a balance the production of Java should have been curtailed by 1,000,000 tons and that of the Philippines should have been wholly eliminated. The Japanese production would have been maintained at 1,300,000 tons (G. Rodenburg, *op. cit.*).

[2] P. M. Prillwitz, *op. cit.* The new enterprises were immediately organised in a federation (*Saibai Kigyo Rengokai* = *S.K.R.*).

Japanese capital with a firmer grip on the Indonesian community than the Western capital had ever had in the last half a century. The intention was that Indonesia would be a territory of low wages and prices within the Great Asiatic Sphere and, because of that, would be able to supply cheap raw materials for the Japanese industry. Therefore, the occupants began with a strict wage and price control [1] and the lowering of the standard of living of the European group of population, in this case the Indos, the great majority of whom remained free from internment. The price control was enforced so severely that it stabilised the situation for about a year in spite of the inflation, which was the result of excessive circulation of occupation money and of the scarcity of goods consequent upon the stoppage of imports and production. [2] The Japanese also attempted to absorb surplus money by means of donations to war funds, lotteries, encouraging Chinese remittances to Nanking, and various savings campaigns. But the inflation "continued to increase at an ever faster rate, until by the middle of 1945 the paper money only had about a fortieth of its original purchasing value." [3]

Strict control over banking was a requisite for this policy. Until December 1941 there were three Japanese banks that were active in Indonesia: the Yokohama Specie Bank, the Taiwan Bank and the Mitsui Bank. [4] After all the non-Japanese banks had been immediately closed down, their properties were confiscated ("voluntarily surrendered") and placed under Japanese control until the order was given on October 20, 1942 [5] to liquidate these institutions. Their activities were taken over by the reopened Yokohama Specie Bank and the Taiwan Bank. [6] The People's Credit Bank, which had largely Indonesian clients,

[1] See *Decree No.* 36, dated October 1, 1942.

[2] H. J. Manschot, *op. cit.*

[3] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 19.

[4] In Java there were four Dutch banks (de Javasche Bank, de Ned. Handelmaatschappij, de Ned.-Indische Handelsbank and de Ned.-Indische Escompto Maatschappij), two English (the Chartered Bank of India, Australia and China and the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking corporation), and some Chinese banks (the Oversea Chinese Banking Corporation and the Bank of China). See the article of H. J. Manschot, *op. cit.*

[5] *Decree No.* 44, October 20, 1942.

[6] The Mitsui Bank reopened its office in Surabaya, but seems to have obtained no big share in the booty, yet it was in this bank that the Imperial House had great financial interests.

was reopened in October 1942 in seventy places under Japanese direction and a Japanese name (*Syomin Ginkoo*). [1]

The branch offices of these Japanese banks were scattered all over Java and Sumatra. Above them, however, was the Southern Development Bank (*Nanpo Kaihatu Kinko*), which opened eight branches on April 1, 1943 in Java and Sumatra, and began to function as the circulation bank. Through this bank, credits were furnished only to those industries, which were important for the Japanese war effort, while running credits (since before March 8, 1942) were gradually paid back. [2]

The *Nanpo* Bank was thus the instrument by which the government at Tokyo could control the whole economic life of Indonesia. It also served as a means of bringing the Western property – industries and private goods – under the control of the new, mostly Japanese, owners. The sugar industries had already in 1942 come into the hands of half a dozen Japanese concerns. What was found in the safes of Western banks – jewels and precious metals – also came in possession of the Japanese. The price that was obtained for these properties was indeed small, but they did not mind if the buyers were the Japanese, and naturally those who were closest profitted most. [3] The institution for the "custody" of enemy movables (*Tekisan Kanribu*) was, therefore, left in charge of only small amounts, which were deposited in the Nanpo as proceeds of the sale on behalf of the original owners. The administration of immovable property, such as ground, houses, etc. was conducted by the *Hudoosan Kanri Koodan*, established by *Osamu Seirei* No. 10, dated October 10, 1942. [4]

The Japanese rulers expected also that the occupied territories would contribute to the production of industrial goods, which were vital for the war. But since they did not want to set up giant industries in these territories and since they were careful that no shipping space would be allowed for transport between

[1] A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 90. *Decree No.* 39, October 3, 1942. M: "Bank Rajat".

[2] The growing inflation made the repayment of money by Chinese and Indonesian dealers rather easy (H. J. Manschot, *op. cit.*). In Borneo and the Great East the Taiwan Bank acted as the agent of the Nanpo.

[3] H. J. Manschot (*op. cit.*) points to the remarkable fact that the Japanese showed no interest for securities, which were found in the safe-deposit of the Javasche Bank in Bandung after the war.

[4] See A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

the islands, they planned to scatter the existing industries over different areas. Machines were dismantled in order to be refitted in other places. This shifting, however, did not lead to any fruitful result and, consequently, there was a growing shortage of goods, although the number of industries greatly increased between 1942 and 1945. In the Netherlands Indies of 1942 there were 339 industrial plants including 51 sugar factories, whereas in 1945 the number increased to 549. [1] Whether all these industries were capable of the desired production is a different question.

In the economic sphere, too, the various sections of the population were organised in corporations with "obligatory membership, unilaterally binding regulations, uniform objects and Japanese executives." [2] To mention only a few: the Corporation of Textile Producers (*Orimono Koogyo Kumiai*, 1943), the United Corporation of Sugar Merchants in Java (*Djawa Satoo Hambai Rengoo Kumiai*), the United Corporation of Retail Shop Keepers (*Warong Kumiai Rengookai*, 1943), etc. The activities of these bodies often overlapped, but from the Japanese viewpoint of high policy, this set-up had the advantage of enabling them to maintain effective control and of promoting Nipponese leadership.

[1] W. van Warmelo, "De Indische Industrie gedurende de Japansche bezetting", in *Economisch-Statistische Berichten*, March 27, 1946.
[2] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 49.

CHAPTER IV

CONQUEST AND OCCUPATION POLICY II: POLICY TOWARDS THE INDONESIAN PEOPLE

INTRODUCTION

The lines along which the Japanese policy in Indonesia would develop in future years began to appear, though vaguely, after some months of the occupation. During this period it became clear to the Japanese that the Indonesians were not a static mass of people without any principles or convictions. On the contrary, they could perceive that there existed among the population deep-rooted ideas and traditions, which, often contradictory to each other, made the conduct of the administration difficult. The Japanese began by committing many serious mistakes. For the Japanese of 1942 the task in Indonesia was much more difficult than for the Dutch a century earlier. An occupation authority, technically seen, always has the tendency to carry on the administration in a most irregular manner. The occupant strives after a particular goal, and everything else is made subordinate to that – whether it succeeds or not. It is not even possible to set up a system of economic-colonial exploitation of the old pattern. Apart from the inner contradictions which invariably exist in every occupation-regime, there still remains the difficulty that, in numerous cases, the final decision has to be taken by the military who are hardly qualified for this.

What the Japanese aimed at in Indonesia was the establishment of a politico-economic structure, which would have the appearance of freedom for the most developed part of the Archipelago combined with complete economic dependence and spiritual unity with Nippon. But this appearance of freedom failed to impress the nationalists of the middle of the twentieth century, who had always considered the combination of political

and economic relations between their native country and overseas as fatal, and who, therefore, on principle regarded nationalism and socialism as the two inseparable forms of expression of their anti-colonial activity. [1]

The Dutch had, besides the Western-educated nationalists, always relied upon the traditional respect, enjoyed hereditarily by the local heads and on the local jurisdiction, in which all Indonesians, high and low, were held in every community by the traditional customs and legal relations. But they also had to experience that this tradition was gradually crumbling away and, consequently, their hold on the masses had already begun to weaken. To the Japanese, this method of governing appeared to be more difficult, because their arrival had given a rude shock to the Indonesian society, as a result of which a large number of people and institutions, so far maintained by the authority within their traditional bounds, had begun to liberate themselves from the grip of that authority. And, finally, what did the Emperorship in Nippon and Nippon's national spirit mean to the millions of Indonesians who, except from what had always been locally respected, had only spiritual ties with Islam? Would a Japanese soldier, imbued with *Samurai* spirit, or a Japanese Buddhist scholar have the same natural respect for the simple Indonesians as for the religious Muslims of Hedjaz or Hadramaut? After all, what should be the basis of spiritual unity with Nippon? The Japanese should begin to realise all these problems if they wanted to fulfil their plans. The building up of a spiritual bond and voluntary adaptation to the Japanese ideal was an essential element that could not be abandoned. The Japanese Military leaders and their political supporters, after an experience of ten years in China and Manchuria, failed to imagine that a military rule alone would not be sufficient to hold together for an indefinite period of time the world empire that was to be created. But how to steer clear of all these rocks?

It was expressly stated in the directives of the highest command, worked out by the Total War Research Institute that the occupation troops and the civil Japanese officials following them should feel themselves as equals with the conquered

[1] B. H. M. Vlekke, "Communism and Nationalism in South East Asia", *International Affairs*, April 1949.

peoples – an emphasis that found expression in Decree No. 1, dated March 7, 1942 which said that the Japanese and Indonesians were one race. The peoples of the Archipelago should be able to see clearly that the Japanese did not intend to form a separate privileged ruling class like the Dutch. [1] The Indonesians would not have to accept anything of the new rulers to which the Japanese also were not subjected. Contrary to the expectation of the experts of the Total War Research Institute, the ordinary Japanese, once he put on a uniform, appeared to be harsh in his treatment, which every Indonesian considered to be cruel and inadmissible. Besides, every Japanese showed a kind of respect to his highest authority, which an Indonesian, however humble in his manners towards his own traditional authority, never liked to demonstrate voluntarily for the sake of a foreigner. Here difficulties arose. Every Japanese, irrespective of his rank, had to be greeted with a salute, and even in public meetings the whole gathering had to collectively bow in the direction of Tokyo. The latter must have appeared to many devout Indonesian Muslims, who during their prayers bow towards the direction of Mecca, as contrary to divine regulations; the former could be dangerously offending when the ignorant Japanese insisted on bowing with an uncovered head. The Indonesians could hardly notice in such a situation that they were treated equally with the Japanese; neither did they easily understand that the use of the slap on the head was a disciplinary measure permissible in the Japanese army and that other Great East Asiatics were too good to deserve such a penalty [2].

Neither was there any semblance of equality when in 1943 a mass immigration of Japanese officials started, which displaced many Indonesians from positions acquired only a short time ago. Every Indonesian official with pre-war experience could perceive that the new masters were ill-equipped to administer the country in its diverse spheres. [3] The effects of the economic measures became gradually clear to the masses, and when they understood the real nature of their intent, the occupants had imperceptibly forfeited their prestige and the sympathy of a

[1] See the Plan of the Total War Research Institute of February 18, 1942, *op. cit.*
[2] See *Out of Exile*, p. 247.
[3] On this point Sjahrir (*Out of Exile*, p. 249) entirely agrees with all Dutch writers.

large section of the population. At the beginning, however, the rural population was not much aware of the Japanese measures excepting that land had been withdrawn from the Western-directed *cultures* in favour of the native rice cultivators, that a number of new plantation crops had been introduced on a modest scale, and that the Japanese were eager to impart advice to the farmers as to the know-how of rice cultivation. But this proved to be a failure, for the method and quality did not suit the tropical soil. Those who could not find a living in the *desa* (village) and were young could become members of *Hei Ho* [1], which apparently offered many advantages.

The Japanese based their rule on brute force and considered it, according to Sjahrir, feasible to govern Indonesia with the bayonet. [2] Evidently, there is much truth in this, since the Japanese regime was a wartime one and the supreme authorities were the commanders of the Army and Navy, who demanded unquestioned obedience and no political opposition. It is, however, not absolutely true that the Military Government depended entirely on the bayonet, for they were certainly aware of the typical Indonesian relations, and tried to get a firm hold by repressing the revolutionary feeling that had been aroused during the invasion in 1942. At a later stage of the occupation, when defeat for Japan was in sight, all restrictions were deliberately removed to allow the revolution to run its own course.

Many years before the Japanese occupation, a social development, which threatened the traditional respect for authority existing from ancient times, had gradually taken place in the Indies. In the earlier days of Dutch rule when there was little awareness on the part of the authorities that the *Adat* was the foundation of native law, they nevertheless made use of it in order to govern indirectly the Archipelago with a minimum external display of power. After it was realised that the *Adat* was the basis of legal rules and customs in Indonesia, a kind of *Adat* cult was formed. [3]

And more than anything else the mere presence of the modern Dutch Government had helped to break down the old relations

[1] See *infra*.
[2] *Out of Exile*, p. 249.
[3] For a detailed study of *Adat* Law, see, *inter alia*, B. Ter Haar, *Adat Law in Indonesia* (Translated from the Dutch, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York 1948).

in spite of all respect for tradition. [1] The introduction of Western articles of use, means of transport, and also dress to some extent, wiped out somewhat – whether it was meant as such or not – the differences between the classes and ranks. Introducing the Dutch language had its effects too. The ever increasing interference of the government with individual Indonesians undermined the traditional order, which so far had made them obedient to the highest authority through the intermediary of their village heads and their regents. The Western economic activity also affected the old Indonesian community, and the increasing income of the farmers made it possible for some of them to acquire special properties outside their narrow community. In short, it may be said that the Indonesians individually came in contact with the political and economic set-up of the country and became less dependent on their immediate surroundings. In the first and second quarter of the twentieth century this meant the beginning of a social revolution.

This revolution appeared gradually in Java where the Westerners had already exercised their influence for a long time. It is quite certain that this development which took place simultaneously with the increasing pressure of Java's population would have led to serious tensions in the long run even without the interference of Japan. The sudden disturbance in the existing relations by the occupation, however, accelerated an outburst within a few years, namely as soon as the force of the bayonet ceased to repress everything. Outside Java, some of the other factors already mentioned made themselves felt very strongly. Among the people of Minangkabau with their system of *Adat* which was difficult to maintain under the conditions of the modern world, the traditional heads had begun to lean more and more on the Dutch authority for the preservation of their power under the threat from the orthodox Muslims. Muslim zealots, together with communist agitators, had been responsible for the outburst of 1927. Again, Muslim reformers particularly in Sumatra welcomed the Japanese invasion hoping to see the heads of the *Adat* system along with their Dutch protectors

[1] See, *inter alia*, D. H. Burger, "Structuurveranderingen in de Javaanse Samenleving" in *Indonesië*, March 1949– May 1950.

ousted from their position. [1] In Atjeh *Ulamas* and other opposers of the authority of the *Ulèëbalangs* [2] constituted the nucleus of the pro-Japanese movement, and in their radicalism they preferred to complete the religious and social revolution till the old order would be uprooted through bloody violence.

The old structure had already been weakened in many respects when the Japanese power hit it. To facilitate the conquest of the Indies, the Japanese had looked for support from many revolutionary elements, who also responded eagerly in the hope of materialising their revolutionary plans with the help of Japan. But once in possession of land and people, the Japanese did not want any more revolutions. They hoped to utilise their radical allies to their own advantage as well as seek the support of the traditional authorities following the Dutch policy. Traditionalism suited better in the Japanese conception of order than radicalism. This explains the establishment of a Committee for the Study of former Customs and Political Systems (*Kyuukan Seido Tyoosa Iinkai*) in November 1942, whose aim was "to survey and study the customs and the former governmental systems of the country, and to contribute towards the Administration of Java." [3]

The occupants, therefore, attempted to arrest the decay of the traditional institutions. The autonomous rulers in Java and Sumatra were confirmed in their dignity. We have already mentioned that in August 1942 the four Javanese princes were summoned to Batavia to swear an oath of loyalty to Japan in presence of the Commander-in-Chief of the 16th Army in Java. Hereditary heads, who were set aside at the beginning of the occupation by the revolutionary elements, were also restored in their position. On the other hand, the Japanese rulers were faced with the problem of satisfying their allies in the early days of the invasion, and, therefore, they deprived the traditional administrators of their competence, which was often in conflict with Islamic law. They were also vigilant in certain cases as to whether all respect was shown for Islamic laws and the popu-

[1] See H. Bouman, *Enige beschouwingen over de ontwikkeling van het Indonesisch Nationalisme op Sumatra's Westkust* (Thesis Leiden, J. B. Wolters, Groningen 1949); A. J. Piekaar, *op. cit.*, pp. 177 ff, 190, 193 ff.

[2] Territorial Chiefs.

[3] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 58; *Kan Po No.* 7, p. 3, Nov. 1942.

lation was not disturbed in observing these laws by the occupation regulations. [1]

A. POLICY TOWARDS ISLAM [2]

In their policy towards Islam, the religion of the vast majority of Indonesians, the Japanese made a significant departure from that followed by the former Dutch authorities. To them, Islam appeared to be a powerful force which could be utilised for the realisation of their aims in Indonesia. The reason of their interest in Islam was not to further the welfare of the Muslim community and its life, neither was it to advance an Islamic social and cultural regeneration as the nationalists, or at least some of them, aimed at. The Japanese considered Islam as one of the most effective means to penetrate into the spiritual recesses of Indonesian life and to infuse the influence of their own ideas and ideals at the bottom of the society. For exactly the same reasons, Christianity was chosen in the Philippines as an important vehicle for ideological penetration. The importance which the Japanese attached to religion in their occupation policy in Indonesia can be estimated from the fact that in contrast with the pre-war situation one separate Department of Religious Affairs [3] was created.

It is true that in Islam there is no such thing as an Islamic church or any system of regular clergy. But there has been a socially distinct group, although unorganised as a group, of religious leaders who usually command the respect of the masses on account of their religious knowledge, and act as the spiritual guides of the villagers. At the beginning of the Japanese occupation, this group of *Kiais* and *Ulamas* [4] seemed to enjoy the undisputed confidence of the masses in Indonesia. Naturally, the Japanese, in their attempt at obtaining a firm footing in the Indonesian world, first directed their attention to this group of people, who could be used as a proper intermediary for re-interpreting Japanese ideas and aims into Indonesian idioms and communicating them to the masses. They did not hesitate

[1] For Atjeh, see A. J. Piekaar, *op. cit.*, pp. 198–199, 274 ff.

[2] Part of the materials for this section has been drawn from C. A. O. van Nieuwenhuijze, *Japanese Islam Policy in Java 1942–1945* (MS).

[3] J = *Syuumbu*, M = *Kantor Urusan Agama*.

[4] *Kiais* (Malay) and *Ulamas* (Arabic) are the group of people who specialise in the study of Islamic religion.

to exploit the popularity and sentiments of these religious leaders who always held the former Dutch government responsible, in spite of their professed neutrality in religious matters, for promoting Christianity at the expense of Islam. [1] Therefore, from the very beginning of the occupation the new rulers adopted a policy which may be described as one of appeasement towards the adherents of Islam. The question of religion could also easily lead to conflicts because the Japanese Emperor-God could not take the place of the Prophet (Muhammad) for the followers of Islam. On this point the Japanese had to grant preference to what was not Japanese.

In December 1942 the head of the Military Administration (*Gunseikan*) addressed the Islamic leaders at Batavia in order to convince them of the necessity for co-operation with the Japanese and the training of the youth so as to make them into hardworking inhabitants of the Greater East Asiatic Co-Prosperity Sphere. [2] This meeting was the final stage of a propaganda campaign which Colonel Hory, the head of the Department of Religious Affairs, made in the autumn of 1942 throughout Java. In every *Syuu* (Residency) he held meetings in which the *Kiais* and *Ulamas* were obliged to attend. Five Japanese in Arabian dress, assuming the title of *Hadji* and Arabian names, graced the company that consisted of good speakers. [3]

Just as the conservative – a large section of the population in Java – was appeased with the setting up of the *Adat* Commission, the head of the Military Government promised the Islamic leaders in December 1942 in Batavia that the Nipponese Army would protect and respect Islam and that a thorough study of Islam would be made in order to understand them more favourably. In a typical Eastern way the *Gunseikan* offered excuses for the mistakes committed so far, which might have offended the Muslims. He also emphisised that in sharp contrast with the Nipponese, the former Dutch rulers studied Islam with a view "to

[1] The religious leaders always used to point to large sums allocated in the Dutch Indies Government budget for Christian clergy, missionary schools and hospitals, these being much larger than the sums spent on similar Muslim activities.

[2] *Kan Po No.* 9, p. 6, December 1942; *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 78.

[3] *Hadji* = only those who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca are entitled to use this title. These five Japanese "*Hadjis*" were: Abdul Hamid Ono, Abdul Munim Inada, Saleh Suzuki, Mohammad Taufik Sasaki and Abdul Munir Watanabe – See *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 78.

oppress the followers of Islam and destroy the religion" – a policy that was "hated by the people." [1] To remove the distrust of the Muslim community, it was clearly expressed that the Military Authority did not aim at unification but mere co-operation of all organisations and creeds. What was meant by this co-operation was the education of the youth in the spirit of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and the confidence of the people in the power of the Nipponese Army, Navy and Airforce. [2]

After the speeches were over the religious leaders were invited to a dinner at the residence of the Commander-in-Chief of the 16th Army, who lived in the palace of the former Governor-General. This gesture made a positive impression on these simple people, most of whom came from the countryside.

A second practical move, seen from the Japanese viewpoint, was the opening of a training (M = *latihan*) centre in Batavia, where courses of three weeks for the *Kiais* and *Ulamas* were organised under the supervision of *Syuumubu*. The purpose was "to improve the insight of the *Kiais* into the circumstances of the times and create a co-operative spirit towards the military government." [3] From July 1943 till May 1945 seventeen courses in total were held, each attended by sixty *Kiais*, specially selected from all over Java. It is needless to add that these courses were mainly designed to indoctrinate Japanese ideology. Every course ended with a final recapitulation and pledge of loyalty to Japan, in the form of a speech by one of the most loyal participants. On the other hand, in these simple people were reflected the feelings of the masses and, therefore, the Japanese could verify the extent of the effect of their propaganda. Their efforts to persuade the Islamic leaders to declare the Great East Asia war against the Allies as a "holy war" did not, however, yield the desired result. A holy war is only fought against *Kafirs* – unbelievers – by the believers. The fact that the Japanese were Kafirs in the eyes of the Muslims was a serious hindrance to their attempt. Whenever this subtle point was raised, they at once used to come out with their slogans that the Japanese and Indonesians belonged to the "common ancestry" and "common

[1] A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 106.
[2] *Kan Po No.* 9, p. 6, December 1942.
[3] *Zyawa Nenkan*, p. 145. See A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

race" and that their common destiny bound them eternally.[1]

The Japanese allowed the religious schools to be reopened with modified curricula, including Arabic – the language of the Holy Scripture. According to the final regulation concerning the reopening of Arabic schools issued on September 10, 1942, Japanese and Indonesian were to be imparted next to Arabic. Arabic text books, however, needed the approval of the Religious Affairs Department. To placate the Indonesian Muslims further, it was announced that plans were under way to establish a Muslim University like the Al-Azhar at Cairo.[2] This was followed by another announcement that a Muslim Library would be opened. All this was obviously meant to impress the masses that the religion of Islam would obtain more freedom than it had during the former government.

The Japanese then turned towards their next objective in the field of religion, viz. the creation of one all-embracing and centralised organisation under their direct control, as a result of which the huge Muslim mass of Java's population could be moved more easily in the direction desired by them. In this they might have been prompted by a very limited coincidence between Japanese and Muslim views upon the social function of religion. To the Japanese, both religion and politics were social forces which could be combined in promoting the glory of *Dai Nippon*. There was, to them, no essential difference between the two. To the followers of Islam also, religious and socio-political life are so inextricably interwoven as to make it hardly possible to distinguish between the two in practice and, therefore, the Indonesian Muslims, so it appeared to the Nipponese, should have no objections against mixing up religious and political issues, these being aspects of one and the same thing. Thus, according to the Japanese, the common Indonesian desire for more unity and coherence – often expressed as a desire for better organisation – of the Muslim community and its integration in Indonesian social life could, to a large extent, be harmonised with the

[1] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 80; *Decree No.* 1, March 7, 1942 of the Commander of the Japanese Army in Java.

[2] *Asia Raya*, June 16, 1942. This ideal proved to be fascinating for a long time even after the occupation. Its realisation, as far as possible, has been achieved by the establishment of a Muslim University at Djokjakarta by the government of the Republic of Indonesia.

Japanese aim at centralising Muslim organisations to establish direct control.

At the beginning, however, interference in religious affairs and the uniting of the various religious bodies were carefully avoided. [1] This benevolent attitude was not inspired by tolerance but by their sheer inability to amalgamate the two powerful Islamic organisations – the progressive *Muhammadiyah* and the very orthodox *Nahdat al-Ulama*. Hence, they proceeded very cautiously. To prepare the ground for an all-embracing Muslim organisation, the importance and necessity of unity in the Muslim community was at first systematically propagated in numerous religious gatherings (*tabligh akbar*) organised by the Religious Affairs Board as well as meetings addressed personally by Colonel Hory. As the first practical step towards the realisation of the Japanese goal, an Organisation for the Unity of the Islamic Community (*Badan Persatuan Ummat Islam*) was created on July 13, 1942 in Djakarta, and soon local branches were founded in different parts of Java. The way was thus paved for re-establishing the *Madjelis Islam Ala Indonesia* (MIAI), [2] the supreme organisation of Islamic bodies, which was dissolved immediately after the occupation along with other political and national organisations. It was to be the central directing board of the unity of the Indonesian Islamic community under the complete supervision of the Japanese. That the Japanese sought to induce the vast Muslim population of Java to a maximum war effort through this religious organisation is quite obvious from the numerous articles published in *Suara MIAI* (Voice of MIAI). [3] In one of the articles it was stated: "Naturally, the victory in war will not just come by praying for it in the mosques. Prayers should be accompanied by sacrifices of lives and possessions from the whole population. Whosoever keeps quiet in this period without doing anything, he is a sinner against

[1] *Kan Po* No. 14.

[2] MIAI, a federation of thirteen Muslim organisations, was set up in September 1937. The main stimulus which caused MIAI to come into existence was Muslim opposition against the Dutch Government, which proposed certain legal regulations concerning marriages of Muslims. It is said that this MIAI developed pro-Japanese sentiments since 1938, when an article, entitled "The Voice of Japan", appeared in the issue for September 15, 1938 of *Berita Nahdat Al-Ulama* (Newsletter of Nahdat al-Ulama), in which all MIAI news was regularly published.

[3] The periodical of MIAI.

God. God obliges the whole Muslim community to take care of, to defend and to promote their country and their religion." [1]

The dissolution of MIAI on October 24, 1943, made room for the *Madjelis Sjuro Muslimin Indonesia* (Consultative Council of Indonesian Muslims), better known as the *Masjumi*, in which all Muslim associations were united. [2] One of the reasons why the Japanese desired this replacement seems to have been that MIAI, which began in 1937 as an anti-Dutch organisation, might turn out anti-foreign again – a risk the new rulers were not prepared to accept. The more obvious reason was that *Muhammadiyah* and *Nahdat al-Ulama* had stayed outside MIAI. Kiai Hadji Hashim Ashari became the leader of the new organisation. With this the Japanese military authority succeeded in obtaining a firm grip on the religious population, since the *Masjumi* set up its branch offices in every *Syuu*, which closely co-operated with the religious offices of the Military Administration. The *Masjumi* was now turned into a political apparatus, though maintaining a religious *façade*. Even prayers were prescribed by this organisation for Nippon's final victory. [3]

On the other hand, the authority of the religious leaders who had little political influence before the war was gradually extended. The Department of Religious Affairs which was placed under Indonesian leadership since November 1943 – though the Japanese remained the heads of the various sections – wove a web over the whole of Java in 1944. In every *Syuu* office, a bureau of religious affairs was set up which functioned as a sub-section of the Department at Batavia. [4] This bureau spread its branches to the districts, sub-districts and even to the villages. Important local Islamic leaders were invited to supervise these branch offices and propagate Japanese ideas. The mosque staff, formerly subordinated to the traditional native authorities – princes and regents – was now directly employed by the state. These functionaries thereby rose in esteem and with it the Japanese increased their influence on them. The Islamic leaders

[1] *Suara MIAI*, October 1, 1943.
[2] November 22, 1943. *Kan Po No.* 32, p. 26.
[3] A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
[4] *Kan Po No.* 44.

who were generally distrusted by the Dutch authority [1] came as a closed group in direct contact with the highest governing body. The hierarchical order maintained during Dutch rule among the administrators was thus knocked down. The separation between church and state practically came to an end. Islam obtained a privileged position in the political system in which, next to the secular administration, a religious apparatus had been created. The Japanese thus brought about a fundamental change in the traditional method of governing, by the increase of power for Islam.

It is indeed difficult to explain the Japanese desire for such a basic change. One can only speculate. The intention to create serious difficulties for the Dutch or other Western Powers on their return could hardly have existed in 1942 and the first half of 1943, for the Japanese could not yet think that they would have to surrender their conquered territories. It is not unlikely that such a trend could easily have prevailed in the minds of the Japanese in 1944 because of the adverse situation of the war, but not before. Did the Japanese rulers imagine that the Islamic leaders would be more loyal and submissive to them than the traditional heads? Probably not, for Japan, the country where the traditional obedience was so highly valued, was no more acceptable as an authority to the orthodox Muslims than the Netherlands and the West; perhaps even less, because Japan as a pagan country had no share in the true teaching, of which the Christians, according to Prophet Muhammad's sayings, possessed at least a part. Or was it the continuation of the movement that had already been started before the war in Tokyo, which attempted to win as far as possible the favour of the Muslims, in order to undermine and dislocate the age-old Western power that rested on the traditional native authorities? This seems to be the best explanation.

It is possible that the orthodox Muslims like Hadji Mansur wanted to make use of the Japanese power and her pre-war promises to conform the social relations in Java more and more to the teachings of Islam. So it has been in Atjeh and in Sumatra's

[1] It may be interesting to note that the Muslims of India also were distrusted for more than a century by the British after they established their power there in the middle of the 18th century.

Westcoast, and the co-operation of the *Ulamas* and *Kiais* should be viewed in this light and, therefore, as a continuation of the Islamic influence which was already working for three hundred years to make Indonesia a truly Islamic country after the first superficial conversion to Islam.

In any case, the whole traditional governing system was endangered by the position of power vested in Islam. The Japanese thereby placed themselves in a difficult position to carry on a continuous policy of balance between secular and spiritual authorities. That the equilibrium could not always be maintained in spite of the strict vigilance of the Department of Religious Affairs became obvious in 1944 in Tasikmalaya and Indramayu, where sheer despair, forced delivery of rice, drafting of *Romushas* [1] and coercion of the Japanese system led to disturbances and troubles. [2] The Islamic leaders had not succeeded in making the population acquiesce in their misery. Prof. Hussain Djajadiningrat, the head of the Religious Affairs Department, was blamed for this, and he was replaced by Kiai Hadji Hashim Ashari (August 1944). After Ashari was installed in his office in Batavia, he returned home to Djombang near Surabaya. His investiture was purely a symbolic one. The Japanese merely wanted to connect the name of this old influential person with the Military Government. They had no illusions about his actual leadership. Among the activities performed in his name the most important were the subjection of the *Masjumi* to a semi-governmental institution, the opening of an Islamic high school at Batavia [3], and the founding there of *Balai Muslimin Indonesia*, a club house where meetings concerning Islam were held. [4]

The Department of Religious Affairs also took a number of other measures to enlist the support of the *Masjumi*. The slaughter duty and inspection fees for animals that were to be sacrificed on Islamic religious days were abolished. Muslims who wanted to say Friday prayers were granted leave of absence from the office.

In the wave of new enthusiasm a corps of the Muslims, called

[1] See *infra*.
[2] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 81; *Kan Po No.* 39, pp. 28–31.
[3] July 9, 1945. *Kan Po No.* 71, p. 15.
[4] July 29, 1945. *Kan Po No.* 72. p. 17.

the *Hizbullah* (Army of Allah), was formed which provided the *Masjumi* with military strength. The formation of this corps and its training were the work of "Hadji" Suzuki.[1] The *Hizbullah* was not equipped with fire arms but was trained politically and physically for a "freedom" struggle which should be fought with bamboo spears and wooden rifles. The training of the *Hizbullah* corps began at the beginning of 1945 at Bogor (Buitenzorg), where about 500 youths – 18–20 years old – were given a course of two months under Japanse command. After the end of this training these youths were posted all over Java in order to form local *Hizbullah* organisations[2], for which money was placed at the disposal of the *Masjumi* by the military authority. The members of this corps, however, were not paid.

B. POLICY TOWARDS NATIONALISM

With the usual characteristics of a conqueror, the Japanese, immediately after the occupation of Java, abruptly put an end to all political activity. Decree No. 2 of the Commander of the 16th Army, dated March 8, 1942, banned all meetings, associations, publications and the listening to foreign broadcasts, and Decree No. 3 of March 20, 1942 announced that "to discuss, engage in activities, encourage or make propaganda concerning the organisation and structure of the Government" would be considered illegal. By Decree No. 23 of July 15, 1942, this prohibition was not only explicitly maintained, but also all associations were ordered to be dissolved. As a result of these prohibitive regulations several Indonesian leaders were arrested in April 1942. Later, in December 1942 and in January 1943, severe action on a much larger scale was taken by the *Kempeitai* against the suspected underground activities of Indonesians. Capital punishment was resorted to as the best method of suppressing anything that might possibly be construed as being anti-Japanese. If the prisoners escaped this fate in the first instance, death still awaited them inside the prison walls. Many remained confined till the liberation in 1945.[3]

The Japanese realised, however, that an outlet must be created

[1] A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 107.
[2] age: 15–25 years.
[3] *Doc. No.* 2750, pp. 13, 55–56.

for absorbing the political tensions and passions. Soon a solution was found that made use of the Indonesians' political source of energy to the Japanese purposes. Within two months after all political activity had been prohibited, a people's movement was initiated on April 29, 1942. The AAA Movement or *Pergerakan Tiga A*, as it was called, was intended to unite all political forces into one powerful movement, directed towards the elimination of "pernicious" Western influences which had corrupted the "Eastern soul", and the indoctrination of the entire population of the Archipelago with the ideas of "Asia for the Asiatics" and "Japan the mother of Asia." The ultimate object of this movement was to mobilise Indonesian support for Japan's war effort and the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere with Indonesia as a part. The AAA Movement stood for three slogans: Japan the Leader of Asia, Japan the Protector of Asia and Japan the Light of Asia. The Japanese seemed to have launched this campaign for the glorification of Japan with the apparent belief that the "liberated" Indonesian people would willingly accept their all-powerful leadership without any real opposition and that they would be able to attain their objectives without having to make concessions to Indonesian nationalism. This is also borne out by the fact that R. Samsudin, whom the Japanese appointed as the leader of this movement, was not a nationalist leader of the first rank. [1]

This was, however, not the kind of a people's movement which several of the top-ranking nationalist leaders had thought of. Streams of words, parades, waving of flags, inspiring the youths into action, etc., as a token of the blessings which that country would bring or had brought, were all meant for the benefit of Japan, not for their own homeland – Indonesia. The followers of *Tenno Heika* – the Japanese Emperor – who thought it natural that their superiority would be recognised by the conquered peoples, wanted to govern in accordance with the traditional Japanese concepts of obedience. Boastful speeches should convince the "liberated" of the greatness of Japanese leadership. Those who did not like to listen to them ran the risk of getting corporal punishment that was usual in the Japanese army. Blows in the face and on the head which the Japanese accepted

[1] G. W. Overdijkink, *op. cit.*, pp. 23–24; G. McT. Kahin, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

as disciplinary measures meant for the Indonesians the most humiliating of all offences. The expectation of attaining greater independence and high positions under the Japanese, which was prevalent in certain circles, was lost by the very first measures and the conduct of the Japanese. "The Japanese offered the nationalists only puppet roles." [1] Indonesians occupying important positions experienced further disappointments when they were replaced by the Japanese who were less able than they themselves. Added to this, the obligatory homage to the Japanese Emperor-God, which did not fit in with the beliefs of the Indonesian Muslims, made it clear that the first enthusiasm for the new rulers had cooled down considerably.

But after the demonstration of enormous power by the Japanese, the respect that had already grown before the war for the country of Asia's best fighters increased still further. Consequently, most of the nationalist leaders did not see any other solution except that of co-operation with the Japanese as the best and possibly the only remaining choice. Hatta already agreed to co-operate with the new rulers, who placed him "in charge of a sort of advisory bureau for nationalist affairs." [2] Sukarno decided to follow the same method. According to Sjahrir (but it is written *post factum*), both Hatta and Sukarno did it with the intention of doing "everything legally possible to give the nationalist struggle a broader scope." [3] But Sjahrir himself wanted to keep aloof from all politics and secretly work for the building up of a resistance movement. It was further "agreed that political concessions from the Japanese for the nationalists must be pressed for in return." [4] The veteran of the

[1] Republic of the United States of Indonesia: "History of Indonesia's National Movement" (Washington, July 1, 1949), p. 13.

[2] *Out of Exile*, p. 241.

[3] *ibid.*, p. 246.

[4] *ibid.*. After the war a controversy arose over the charges of collaboration with the Japanese brought by the Dutch particularly against Sukarno and Hatta. The Indonesians, however, maintained that these nationalist leaders co-operated only with a view to consolidate and further Indonesian nationalism among the masses, and not for their own selfish personal ends (See *Political Manifesto of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia*, issued at Djakarta, November 1, 1945. English text from The Voice of Free Indonesia, No. 2, Djakarta, November 1945 published in *New Cycle in Asia, Selected Documents on Major International Developments in the Far East, 1943–1947*, Ed. by Harold R. Isaacs, Institute of Pacific Relations, New York 1947, pp. 182–188). "It is important to note", says a writer, "that the standards used to define quislings in the West during World War II did not automatically hold among Asian subject populations. In this case the overwhelming endorsement of

nationalist movement, Dr. Tjipto Mangunkusumo, had completely retired in the meanwhile, since he was staunchly opposed to any contact with the new authorities.

The nationalists of the *Parindra* group accepted the new situation more easily than the leftist groups, although only a few of them (and they, too, only for a short period) decided on co-operation with the Japanese. Some had to display their collaboration so as not to fall immediately into the hands of the Japanese secret police. [1] Within a few weeks it appeared that the police had succeeded in exercising a strict supervision over almost everyone, whether collaborator or opposer of the new regime, and over anyone who held a position, high or low. The rapidity with which an extensive secret service was established in a short time was a proof of the organisational capacity, such as the Japanese could seldom develop in other fields. [2]

Meanwhile, the AAA Movement yielded little result for the Japanese. Indeed, only a small section of the less advanced population believed that they had reached the threshold of that paradise when the Japanese, with their powerful AAA propaganda, announced that everything that was old, Western and

Sukarno by the Indonesian people after the war, despite his prominent role under the Japanese, shows that his collaboration was accepted as arising from national rather than servile or personal motives"(Lawrence K. Rosinger & Associates, *The State of Asia*, American Institute of Pacific Relations, New York 1953, p. 412). "Actually, an accurate appraisal of the collaborationist charges which have been directed against the Republic's leaders", observes another author, "depends primarily on an initial adjustment in viewpoint. In analyzing collaboration with the Japanese in Indonesia a basically different approach must be adopted from that applied to the same issue in the occupied countries of Europe" (Charles Wolf, Jr., *The Indonesian Story*, American Institute of Pacific Relations, New York 1948, p. 11). Even Dr. Van Mook, one of the Dutch authorities who brought charges of collaboration in 1945, seems to have revised his opinion after three years. Writing at the beginning of 1949 he stated: "Uit later gevonden documenten is wel gebleken, dat ook bij al zijn afkeurenswaardige handelingen het streven naar een onafhankelijk Indonesië hem steeds heeft bestuurd" (H. J. van Mook, *Indonesië, Nederland en de Wereld*, Amsterdam 1949, p. 103). In this connection it may be of further interest to note that substantially the same charges were made by Soviet spokesmen in early 1949 against both Sukarno and Hatta but Moscow seemed to have gradually dropped the charge when an approach was made by Indonesia in the summer of 1950 for formal exchange of recognition. In the beginning of 1951 the press and radio of Communist China also spoke in the same critical tune as that initiated by Moscow in early 1949 (George McT. Kahin, *op. cit.*, pp. 104–105).

[1] As Sjarifuddin tried to do in vain. See C. Smit, *De Indonesische Quaestie* (E. J. Brill, Leiden 1952), pp. 34–35.

[2] Evidently, the Japanese immediately engaged many Indonesian informers who had also worked for the Dutch Indies police (*Out of Exile*, p. 238). The police school at Sukabumi was at once reformed by the occupiers and reopened. In every *Syuu* headquarters a similar police school was also opened (*Doc. No.* 2750, p. 39).

bad would be replaced by the new, the better, the Japanese, the ideal of the Great East Asiatic. The Japanese, within a few months of occupation, understood that Indonesia was no empty vessel, where the wine of propaganda only needed to be poured in in order to make everyone drink and get drunk with joy for the arrival of the new rulers. They realised that they would have to reckon with the Indonesian nationalist movement, which had been nurtured mostly by Western-educated intellectuals and had already gained roots particularly in Java – much deeper roots, as a matter of fact, than many members of the Dutch ruling group had ever perceived. The Japanese, therefore, had to abandon the idea of autocratic rule and the AAA Movement died an early death.

In a different way Japan now tried to win the sympathy and support of the Indonesians, especially of the intellectuals who were hardly impressed with the AAA propaganda. Contact was sought with those nationalists who were non-co-operative with the Dutch Indies Government as well as those Indonesian intellectuals who had shown no antipathy towards the former régime and held important positions thereunder. Sukarno was considered to be the best representative of the former group, and so, he was brought over from Sumatra, where he had been interned by the Dutch, to Java in July 1942. With three other nationalists he formed the Four-Leaved Clover – *Ampat Serangkai* – that assumed the leadership, under Japanese supervision, of those Indonesians who were prepared to co-operate with Japan. [1] The *Adat* Commission, which was set up in December 1942 to satisfy in general the conservative elements in Java, as stated earlier, was also meant to appease the second group of Indonesians. Besides the nine Japanese – the chairman was to be one of them – and the Four-Leaved Clover as leaders of the people, six other Indonesian members of this commission were former chiefs of the Departments, professors and prominent personalities in the People's Council [2], who generally had been regarded as the pillars of support of the Dutch rule. This body, which was not destined to perform any important work, never

[1] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 57; G. W. Overdijkink, *op. cit.*, p. 26; W. H. Elsbree, *op. cit.*, pp. 79–80. The other three nationalists were Moh. Hatta, K. H. Dewantara and Kiai H. M. Mansur.

[2] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 58.

played a great role. When the need for more effective participation of the Indonesian people in the Japanese war effort was felt, they established the Central Advisory Council and Local Advisory Councils in October 1943, and with it the *Adat* Commission quietly disappeared.

In the meantime the Four-Leaved Clover made an attempt to strengthen their position vis-à-vis the Japanese. It was rightly felt that such an effort could produce success only by obtaining the support of the masses. However, the possibility for this was dependent on the permission to take part in politics, which would have to be granted by the military authority. To exert pressure on the new rulers for the creation of a political party became, therefore, the principal aim of the four co-operating leaders since the middle of 1942. Indeed, the formation of "an all-inclusive national organisation" had been the ideal of Sukarno [1], but the Japanese held the rudder in their own hands, and did not want cross-currents of a purely nationalistic Indonesian mass propaganda. Even after the failure of the AAA Movement, the Japanese rulers in Indonesia were still hesitant to take a liberal view on this question. They kept the request under consideration for several months. Meanwhile, the Japanese advance had come to a standstill, and Japan had become conscious that voluntary co-operation of the population of the occupied areas was necessary in order to attain the desired objective of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. This signified an important turning point in the attitude of the "liberators" towards the "liberated". This change appeared, among others, from a *Gunseikan* meeting – heads of military administration of all occupied areas – held in October 1942 at Tokyo, in consequence of which the head of the military authority in Java called together the highest Japanese civil authorities in the island in December 1942 to communicate some fundamental directives about the policy of the government. The most important point that came to the forefront was the prosecution of the war, for which all resources had to be mobilised. Also in connection with this, there was the necessity to get hold of the feelings of the population. The first signs of the changed attitude of the Japanese in regard to the occupied territories appeared

[1] *Out of Exile*, p. 246.

slowly. The Commander of the 16th Army promised on December 8, 1942 at Batavia in a mass meeting that was held to commemorate the first anniversary of the attack on Pearl Harbour, that a political party, exclusively for Indonesians, would be permitted. This promise, however, needed further approval of Tokyo. When the permission came, another "festival day" was awaited in accordance with the Japanese custom, this time March 9, 1943, the first anniversary of the conquest of Java and of the foundation of "New Java." [1]

The new movement – it was not a party – *Putera,* which was an abbreviation of *Pusat Tenaga Rakjat* [2], did not provide much opportunity for the initiators to obtain political gain. There was no question of an independent organisation and guidance. The Japanese held the reins tight. As the head of the movement, they appointed Sukarno who was assisted by the other members of the Four-Leaved Clover. Control over the leadership was exercised by an advisory council consisting approximately of an equal number of Japanese and Indonesians alike, the latter being nominated by Sukarno with the approval of the *Gunseikan.* Also the appointment of local leaders was to be approved by the Japanese *Syuutyookan* (Resident). Finally, the organisation of the *Putera* was governed by rules framed by the Commander-in-Chief. [3] Indeed, the question was: who gained most with the establishment of this "party" – the nationalist leaders or the Japanese military authority? If the Indonesian leaders had looked to the future, then it was certainly they who had achieved success, because they could obtain through the new movement some influence on the population, and a basis was thus laid for future display of power. If we take into consideration the party programme, no other conclusion seems justified than the fact that the Japanese were directly benefitted by the *Putera,* in which the different forces were combined. Victory in the war, increase of production, defense of Great East Asia, and the spreading of the Japanese language were the main points along with some other ones, which aimed more at the direct interests of the Indonesians. Because of the lack of any possibility to

[1] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 58; G. W. Overdijkink, *op. cit.*, p. 25; George McT. Kahin, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

[2] "Centre of People's Power." *Putera* means: Knight's son.

[3] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 59.

exercise initiative, the enthusiasm for the new movement diminished. Moreover, when the originally-planned independent youth movement was forbidden, and the Japanese authorities set up instead their own youth movement, the *Seinendan*, the direction of which remained entirely in their hands, the interest in the *Putera* dwindled down to a minimum. [1]

In the Japanese homeland the highest authorities in the meantime had thought of new plans, by which the sympathy and co-operation of the population of the occupied areas could be won. At the beginning of 1943 Premier Tojo, through Field Marshal Terauchi, Commander of the Southern Territories with headquarters at Saigon, instructed General Itagaki in Singapore [2] to conduct an investigation for the possibility of granting independence to Indonesia. This order along the hierarchical way reached the Commander of the 16th Army in Java, Lieutenant-General Harada, who in turn passed it on to the head of the Military Government, Major-General Yamamoto. [3] The latter had several meetings with the Staff officers of the 16th Army in order to enquire into the possibilities of this venture. He also sounded Sukarno about the formation of a Council, whose task would be to advise the military authority. [4]

The instruction for this investigation, however, had its special reason. From the speech which Premier Tojo delivered on June 16, 1943 [5] at the 82nd session of the Diet at Tokyo, it appeared that it had been realised in Japan that the war had reached a critical stage. The war effort had to be intensified. The assistance of the conquered territories, therefore, was necessary. The bait that could be used as a stimulant for this was known. During the speech Tojo had promised independence to Burma and the Philippines and participation in the government to Java. The passage referring to this was couched in the cloak of Japanese generosity, as if no other reasons forced the Land of the Rising

[1] *ibid.*, pp. 60–61. In the area occupied by the Navy there was no *Putera*. There was, however, the Japanese youth organisation, *Seinen Undo. Maeda Interrogation-report, R.V.O.*, 006933.

[2] Commander, 7th Area Army.

[3] Lieutenant-General Harada had succeeded General Imamura as Commander of the 16th Army. After him came General Nagano. *Interrogation-report Saito* (representative and liaison officer of Major-General Yamamoto), *R.V.O.*, 005839–005840.

[4] *ibid.*, 005840.

[5] *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005869; *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1345; *Timetable No.* 147.

Sun to show this compliance. Tojo extended the same promise while he visited Java in July 1943. The Commander of the 16th Army then made a declaration about the way in which the Indonesians would be asked to participate. Among the various measures to be taken were the institution of a Central Advisory Council (*Tyuuoo Sang-In*) and Local Advisory Councils (*Sang Kai*), the appointment of Indonesians in higher civil offices of the Military Administration and increase in the number of Indonesian advisers (*San-Yo*).[1] The Commander of the 16th Army also announced the withdrawal of the Japanese administrators from the Javanese Principalities. The latter measure appeared to have aimed at two things: in the first place, to win the favour of the four Javanese rulers and their numerous relatives and allied family members and, in the second place, to counterbalance the unstable structure of the Japanese administrative apparatus that had seriously undermined the foundation of the traditional authority. So, gradually the voluntary co-operation with Indonesia had assumed the greatest importance for the Japanese and, consequently, the selection of co-operators possessing authority had become equally important. For Japan, which maintained so strongly in her own country the appearance of traditional power-relations, the traditional heads were truly the dependable allies. The occupants had no reason to complain about their readiness to serve, in which the preservation of the dynasty without doubt formed an important point of consideration. The desire of the Japanese to seek the support of the traditional authorities is demonstrated by the fact that the four Javanese princes had been already summoned to Batavia in August 1942 and they swore an oath of loyalty to Japan in the presence of the Commander of the 16th Army, Lieutenant-General Imamura.[2]

Sukarno was appointed as president of the promised Central Advisory Council, in which function he was to be assisted by two vice-presidents. The establishment of this body and the advisory councils for municipalities and residencies was an-

[1] *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005869; *Kan Po No.* 24, pp. 10–14, August 1, 1943.

[2] Announcement of *Gunseitokyoku*. See the collection of decrees and proclamations published by Abdul Karim, Djokjakarta.

nounced on September 5, 1943. [1] The function of the new bodies was exclusively an advisory one. When the Japanese military authority was faced with any question, in which the interest of the population was involved and their adverse reaction was to be feared, the leading Japanese authorities then asked for advice. Especially the Central Advisory Council occupied itself in congratulating the Japanese Empire "in the name of the Indonesian people" on their brilliant victories, thanking them for "generous" decisions in regard to the people of the Archipelago and also in swearing loyalty in life and death. The first session of this council was held in October 1943. After that it met once in three or four months. Concerning further participation of Indonesians to the military administration, the headquarters of the 16th Army reported to the Commander of the 7th Area Army in Singapore on October 4, 1943 that seven Indonesian advisers had been appointed in the Japanese government-departments and bureaux in Java. [2] There were not, however, many proofs that there existed serious plans for a change in Indonesia's status.

On November 5 and 6, 1943 a Great East Asiatic Conference was held at Tokyo, to which Indonesia was not invited, not even as an observer. [3] The subject-Indonesia was also not discussed; in contrast, the closer co-operation between Japan, Manchukuo, China, the Philippines, Thailand and Burma was emphasised at the Conference [4]. Evidently, the Japanese thought that they had gone already far enough with the declaration of Premier Tojo on June 16, 1943, in which the Indonesians had been promised participation in the government, and as a result the establishment of the advisory councils had been approved. However, the fact that Indonesia had not been invited to the Great East Asiatic Conference caused disappointment among the Indonesians. This led to the dispatch of a delegation of the

[1] G. W. Overdijkink, *op. cit.*, p. 32. For Sumatra a "Central Advisory Council" was set up only in June 1945.

[2] *Interrogation-report Saito, R.V.O.*, 005840 and *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005869.

[3] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1346; *Timetable No.* 149.

[4] The "Joint Declaration" of the Conference, described as the "East Asia Charter", was meant as a counterpart of the Atlantic Charter. It was also intended to counteract the effects of the Moscow Conference of Russia, Great Britain and the United States, held in October 1943– *Christian Science Monitor*, November 13, 1943. For the text of the "Joint Declaration", see *Doc. No.* 2750, pp. 118–119.

Central Advisory Council to Japan. The controlled press, however, paid little attention to this visit. After the delegation had left on November 9, 1943 news appeared in all papers in Indonesia only on November 15, 1943 that Sukarno, Hatta and Ki Bagus Hadikusuma had already arrived in Tokyo. The office "information" then stated that the purpose of the journey was "to express, on behalf of all the inhabitants of Indonesia, their deep felt thanks for the rapid realisation of participation in the government." The publication ended with the words: "The delegates will see with their own eyes how the situation is in Japan, which is the pivot of the Greater East Asiatic Co-Prosperity Sphere and the centre of activity for the fulfilment of this great war. They will see Japan that is carrying on an extremely costly, fate-deciding war and they will feel the Japanese energy and ideals which are holy. Therefore, it is to be hoped that these persons will be granted the maximum possible assistance in order to awaken the vigour of the inhabitants of Java for the conduct of the war." [1]

Two inferences may be drawn from this announcement: first, the typical formulation of the Japanese information; and, secondly, the first symptoms of the growing controversy between the military authorities in Java, who wanted to see Java pressed forward more rapidly in the direction of independence, and the supreme military authorities in Japan, who allowed themselves to be compelled only by the circumstances of the war. It seems that the initiative of sending a delegation of the Central Advisory Council to Tokyo came primarily from the Japanese authorities in Java. Their motive was to remove the discontent from the minds of the Indonesians for their not being invited to the Great East Asiatic Conference. They also wanted their viewpoint to gain strength in Tokyo – the viewpoint which had been determined by the pressure exerted from the Indonesian side also.

After the return of Sukarno from Japan, where he received a non-committal answer from Premier Tojo on the question of independence and where he also sought in vain the permission for singing the national anthem and hoisting the red-white flag, he mentioned in a report that he went to Japan on the in-

[1] *R.V.O.*, 001854.

structions of the Commander in Java, who asked him to communicate the thanks of the Indonesian people. Further, "His Majesty the Emperor permitted us to be received and uttered kindly words. And not only this, we were presented by His Majesty with high decorations. We are not able to express in words our feelings for this mark of honour. But all marks of honour, which we received, we see mainly directed to the Indonesian people in Java." [1]

The efforts of the Japanese in Japan proper were, however, continuously aimed at obtaining a firmer hold on the populations of the occupied territories. The prevention and suppression of unrest and turmoil was one reason, and the necessity of an appreciable increase in production, a second one. During the period 1943–44 when Japan had been pushed more and more on the defensive and the American advance on the Marshall and Gilbert Islands, the Marianas and Carolines had clearly threatened the Japanese lines of communication, the third motive originated out of the necessity of engaging wide layers of the population in the war effort. The period of impressing the masses in a one-sided way by Japan's power and glory had come to an end, and the passive obedience and submissiveness was also considered to be no longer satisfactory. "Live or die with Japan" and the "Rise or fall of the whole of Asia depends on the Japanese victory" became the new slogans. Japan placed herself on the pedestal of the protector of an Asia again threatened by the West. The common fate of all East Asiatic peoples was based on this fact and, therefore, still more co-operation than ever before was considered to be necessary in order to face every military setback. The situation of the war demanded more participation of and greater control on the Indonesians. Therefore, in the political sphere public representation was resorted to and in the military field, military and police auxiliary organs of Indonesians came into being. In the sphere of organisation, effective unification of the population was aimed at, so that it might be possible for the supreme military authority to bring the entire human machinery into operation with one gesture. The *Putera* did not seem to have fully satisfied this requirement. It is true that by the foundation of the *Putera* an organisation

[1] *ibid.*. See also *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. Nos.* 1344 and 1331; *Timetable No.* 150.

had been created which embraced all Indonesian political associations, but apart from this there existed also the concentration of Islamic organisations [1], the organisation of Oversea-Chinese [2], and also the Indo-Europeans as far as they had allowed themselves to be convinced and brought in by the Japanese propaganda machine.

With the skill of a psychological master the Japanese looked for a better system. And they found a solution – by which they proved to understand well this part of the war effort – which they allowed to be prompted by those on whom it would be applied.

The Commander of the 16th Army placed the problem before the Central Advisory Council as to which way the activity of the Javanese population could best be stimulated in order to be ready when the threatening, approaching demon of war would also visit this island. The Central Advisory Council, at its very first session, gave the answer. [3]

But before discussing this answer, we should have an idea of the importance of this Advisory Council and the local advisory councils, which were set up with a good deal of show. [4] Outwardly, they reminded the population of the former People's Council, the Provincial and local Councils. But as to their significance, they were completely hollowed out editions of the representative bodies existing during the Dutch rule. The People's Council, however, was no perfect parliament, since the government was not required to yield before the majority of the Council in the absence of agreement concerning the proposed legislative measures. In case of emergencies it could lay down measures on its own authority subject to further approval of the Dutch legislative authority, and in other cases could place before the Dutch legislative authority for acceptance. Further, the People's Council consisted of partly elected and partly nominated members

[1] The *Masjumi*.

[2] The *Kakyoo Sookai*. *Doc. No.* 2750, pp. 82–83. See also Victor Purcell, *The Chinese in South East Asia* (Oxford Univ. Press, London 1952), pp. 551–552.

[3] First Session, October 15–20, 1943.

[4] See *Kan Po No.* 26; *Osamu Seirei No.* 36, dated September 5, 1943; *Osamu Kanrei No.* 6, September 5, 1943; *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 65. Twenty-three members of the Central Advisory Council were appointed by the Commander-in-Chief. Of the remainder, the advisory council of each Residency and municipality nominated from amongst its members one representative, while two members were nominated by the Principalities of Djokjakarta and Surakarta. Total: 43 members.

and hence, it was no pure representation, elected for and by the people. Nevertheless, the People's Council was a co-legislative governing body, in which the government explained her whole conduct and was subjected to criticism, and with which agreement had to be reached regarding legislative measures, with the reservation that the government could overrule the council. Moreover, it had the right of initiative, amendment and interpellation. The body that was instituted by the Japanese, on the other hand, enjoyed few of these rights. It was created mainly to answer the questions put by the Japanese authority. The answers had no legal force. At best they had the force of advice. Besides, it could – it is true that it was entirely composed of Indonesians but strong pressure was exercised by the Japanese directed secretariat – carry motions, which could be lodged as notifications. That was all. Most of the decrees, including many important ones, were issued without any reference to the Advisory Council. Sukarno is reported to have said about this body: "The old People's Council was the only organ of opposition of the people against the Dutch rulers, but the present Central Advisory Council is an organ of co-operation with the military authority". Even the Indonesian press, although it completely followed the Japanese tune, could not conceal in its first reports that some members felt somewhat strange in the atmosphere of this new body. But, as the Japanese adviser had explained, the members should realise that there was no place in this body for unnecessary verbosity of arrogant native members. Far from being a body in which the Japanese policy could be criticised and put to test, it was an organ under which the military authority shielded itself for engaging the population in total warfare.

The Central Advisory Council began its first session by thanking the Japanese Government for her generosity to allow the Indonesian people to participate in the government in the way outlined above. In four resolutions the answer was given on the question of how the activity of the people could be made use of on a wider scale. [1] The Council advised the expansion of the *Peta* that consisted of Indonesians and of the *Hei Ho*, recruitment of native labour on a big scale, stimulation of mutual assistance (which existed in the Indonesian society from ancient

[1] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 75.

times) and the adoption of measures for the stepping up of production. [1] In the second session of the Council [2] the problem of increasing the war effort once again came up for discussion, and this time also the Council made various suggestions. [3]

Meanwhile, the Commander of the 16th Army announced in January 1944 – whether inspired or not by the advice of the Central Advisory Council – the foundation of a new "movement for communal services", the *Djawa Hookoo Kai.* [4] A civilian organisation, whose ramifications should extend down to the smallest unit of the society, was necessary. All free inhabitants of Java of over 14 years, irrespective of nationality, rank or social status, should fulfil their duties for the defence of their homeland and the annihilation of the English and Americans. [5] Thus was created the *Djawa Hookoo Kai*, which replaced the one-year old *Putera.* The supreme leaders of the new organisation was the *Gunseikan*, the head of the Military Administration with Sukarno, the principal Indonesian leader as the Chief of the Head Office. The members had to pay one cent per month as contribution for the new movement. [6]

A few months before the creation of the *Djawa Hookoo Kai*, the structure by which this organisation could penetrate deep into the *desa* was already completed. The so-called *Tonari Gumi* (J) or *Rukun Tetangga* (M) – Neighbourhood Associations, consisting of units of ten to twenty families under the supervision of a responsible *Kumityoo* (J) or neighbourhood head, were set up. [7] New directives were issued [8], so that these Neighbourhood Associations could function as "breechblocks" of the local branches of the central *Hookoo Kai.* In this way a chain was forged, which connected the centre along a hierarchical way with the outskirts of the country.

The *Djawa Hookoo Kai* (J) or *Perhimpunan Kabaktian Rakjat* (M) – Organisation for Communal Services – had to

[1] *Kan Po No.* 30, p. 7.
[2] January 29-February 2, 1944.
[3] *Kan Po No.* 35, p. 7; *Kan Po No.* 36, pp. 13–27.
[4] *Kan Po No.* 34, pp. 10–23.
[5] G. W. Overdijkink, *op. cit.*, pp. 36–37; *Kan Po No.* 28, p 11; *Kan Po No.* 29, pp. 5–15; A. A. Zorab, *op. cit.*, p. 113; George McT Kahin, *op. cit.*, p. 110.
[6] G. W. Overdijkink, *op. cit.*, p. 37.
[7] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 85; *A.A.* Zorab, *op. cit.*, pp. 112–113; W. H. Elsbree, *op. cit.*, pp. 126–127.
[8] *Kan Po No.* 35, p. 13.

implement the measures outlined by the Military Government and support them in order to achieve the purpose of the "holy" Great East Asiatic War in a "friendly co-operation". It was expected that all inhabitants of Java would understand their duty to sacrifice themselves for this "holy" war and act accordingly.[1]

The working method of the new system was that the ideas and plans of the Japanese Government were made known through councils, which formed part of the branch offices of the *Djawa Hookoo Kai*. In every unit of the administrative division, from residency down to village, there was a *Hookoo Kai* office. The councils attached to all these offices had to meet once in every six months, when ideas about the furtherance of the support to the military authority were exchanged.[2]

For the *Tonari Gumis* one meeting a month was fixed. Their duty was to look after the regional defence of the native soil in co-operation with the organisation for protection against air raid, fire and espionage danger – the *Keiboodan*. Besides, they had to give publicity to all legal instructions and directives, promote the production of rice and other cereals, improve the distribution and consumption of goods, lend support in the military field and be active in the matter of mutual assistance between the inhabitants.[3]

The logical result of the all-embracing activities of the *Djawa Hookoo Kai* and *Tonari Gumi* was the incorporation, in these two organisations, of all existing associations. The Japanese had only to deal in future with a few responsible leaders at the top of the organisation. Japanese propaganda and instructions, therefore, penetrated into the remotest corners by the intermediary of these leaders through the local branches of the *Hookoo Kai* and *Tonari Gumi*.

The *Tonari Gumis*, however, were not exclusively propaganda organs. They also took care of all matters of local interests. Moreover, the leaders acted as informers of the authority. Through these small cells all activities, such as anti-Japanese tendency, fifth column activity, were communicated to the

[1] *R.V.O.*, 011208.
[2] *ibid.*
[3] *R.V.O.*, 011209.

central authority. Thus they were considered to be the means of two-way traffic – for passing on propaganda and orders to below and supplying information to above. At all centres there were leaders who could be held responsible for the course of things at any moment. Not without reason was this system, which had been in existence in Japan since ancient times, called a "spy-hostage system" in English and American literature. [1]

With the creation of the *Djawa Hookoo Kai* the Japanese performed a similar act as with the building up of the new Islamic state organisation. Along the side of the government, in which still many capable old hands did their work, an army of new authorities was raised from the bottom with complete equipment that marched across the field of authority of the old tradition, and as a result, little was left of it.

The Japanese rulers devoted special attention to the spiritual and physical training of the youth. They attached such importance to this matter that they kept it completely in their own hands. To the disappointment of Indonesian political leaders they did not grant permission to start an Indonesian youth movement along the side of the *Putera*, founded in March 1943.

As early as December 1942 the Japanese Commander-in-Chief in Java declared that the training of the younger generation to be good citizens of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was of such paramount importance that the best Japan had to offer was not considered sufficient. [2] From this the Japanese leader might conclude that the best Java had to offer was even more insufficient.

In April 1943 the youth corps *Seinendan* was established. Its published aim was "to convince the youth of Java so that they will energetically co-operate with the Military Government and render assistance in the building up of the Co-Prosperity Sphere in Greater East Asia." [3] In this co-operation the youth

[1] The *Hookoo Kai* system was imported from China to Japan in the 8th Century. In China the neighbourhood societies and their covering organisations in fact were only used for the usual promotion and care of administrative affairs. Japan borrowed the form of organisation but at the same time made it subservient to the totalitarian régime by turning it into a propaganda-spying-hostage organisation. In this form the system was introduced in the occupied territories.

[2] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 50.

[3] *ibid.*, p. 51.

should be led by instructors of their own nationality, for which selection and training of suitable persons was necessary. In every *Syuu* a training centre was set up for local instructors, while for the higher cadre a Central Training Camp was opened near Batavia. [1] The direction and organisation of these training camps were entirely in the hands of the Japanese.

When the intial training of local and regional leaders was over, it could be extended downwards. In every *Ken* (Regency) and *Si* (town) a Youth Corps (*Seinendan*) was organised. Detachments could be formed even in villages where there were more than 500 youths. Also in factories and industries the *Seinendan* organised its branches. In short, within a few months a youth army was created, which, besides military training, fire aid and air raid defence, was also engaged in sports, general education and study of language. In fact, much time was devoted to the teaching of the Japanese language. Above all *Seinendan* detachments there was the *Djawa Rengoo Seinendan* (United Youth Corps of Java), which acted as the covering organisation. To demonstrate clearly the importance of the Youth Corps the *Gunseikan* became the Chief of the *Seinendan* in Java, while the heads of the Departments of General and Interior Affairs functioned as deputy chiefs.

Young men of 14–25 years of age, with the exception of the Chinese, could become members of the *Seinendan*. Uniforms were not prescribed. The maximum contribution amounted to one cent per month. [2]

Spectacular work could not be performed by the *Seinendan*, but considerable results were recorded in spiritually influencing and getting a hold on the younger generation. Deeply imbued with the Japanese ideology and inspired by race hatred carefully fostered, the instructors, fresh from their training camps, hurriedly conveyed their undigested ideas to the youths who were under their guidance.

When the initiative was taken in September 1943 to build up an Indonesian Volunteers Army, it was particularly the young *Seinendan*-members who came forward for the military service. With this the real intention of the Japanese revealed

[1] *Tyuuoo Seinen Kunrensyo.*
[2] *Kan Po No.* 18, pp. 8–17.

itself. The principal aim of the formation and enlargement of the *Seinendan* was to create a large reservoir of young people, which could be used for any purposes, especially for military ones. In a carefully planned way and working rapidly the Japanese accomplished their plans with the help of the Information Service. In a request, perhaps inspired by the Japanese, but at any rate signed with his own blood, a well-known politician [1] asked the Japanese commander for the formation of an Indonesian army, which would be able to defend Java against the Allies. Within a week all *Kentyoo* (Regents) of Java followed with similar requests and petitions. In the press there appeared interviews with prominent Indonesian personalities, all of whom were in favour of this idea. The Four-Leaved Clover also extended their support to this request, so that it aroused no surprise when the Commander-in-Chief declared in the beginning of October 1943 that he was favourably disposed towards these requests and petitions. [2] The Commander said that he was willing to comply with the expressed desire of the 50 million "original inhabitants" of Java. [3] He considered this justified longing as an expression of gratitude for Tojo's promise of participation in the government and, therefore, he had given instruction for the formation of a Volunteers Army – *Kyodo Booei Giyu Gun* – for the defence of the homeland. [4]

This army, *Peta*, unlike the earlier formed auxiliary corps (*Hei Ho*), did not constitute a part of the Japanese army, but it was certainly trained by Japanese officers and was under the chief command of the Java Army Commander who, contrary to international conventions, could direct this fighting force to the battlefields outside Java. Although on paper a separate army, the *Peta*, according to the Japanese view, had been "linked up with the Japanese army." [5]

[1] Gatot Mangupradja. Before the war, in 1930, he, along with Sukarno and other leaders of the Partai Nasional Indonesia (PNI), was sentenced to imprisonment by the Dutch authorities.

[2] *Kan Po No.* 28, pp. 19–24; *Osamu Seirei No.* 44, Oct. 3, 1943; *Doc. No.* 2750. p. 68.

[3] The preamble of a large number of decrees for any measure contained "the desire of the 50 million inhabitants of Java." The curious thing is that the Military Commander used the expression "original inhabitants", while the head of the Military Administration spoke of "the Indonesian people", which was not officially allowed.

[4] The Indonesian name is *Sukarela Tentara Pembela Tanah Air*, abbreviation is *Peta*.

[5] *Kan Po No.* 28, pp. 19–24.

The officers received a basic training of three months, on termination of which they were administered an oath in a big propaganda meeting by the Commander of the 16th Army. The non-commissioned officers obtained also a training of equal duration. Then followed the formation of battalions, in which a role was assigned to military "romanticism" in the form of distribution of battalion colours. [1]

The first levy of the *Peta* started immediately. A second and third levy followed in April and July 1944. [2] The enthusiasm for the *Peta*, however, diminished in the course of a few months, so that the Japanese command laid down the number of "volunteers" each regency should furnish. The object was to form one or more battalions of about 1000 men per *Syuu*. [3]

In the selection of the members of the *Peta* preference was given to local influential persons with a strongly developed race-consciousness. [4] The training was imparted in the spirit of "fight and die together with the Nipponese." The *Gunseikan* called it "to present yourself with your soul, flesh and blood for the Javanese homeland and the Great East Asia idea." [5] At the same time racial sentiments and devotion were stimulated. By their close contact with the "volunteers" the Japanese, however, understood that the Indonesians would not in the long run remain satisfied with their dependent position on the Japanese army. [6] A clear suspicion of the Japanese command about these young fellow-fighters was evident from the fact that weapons, mostly old KNIL rifles, were placed at their disposal only during the time of training. Often they were trained merely with wooden rifles.

With the fostering of race-consciousness and feelings of hatred towards the former rulers, the Japanese played a dangerous game since they had lost the sympathy they had enjoyed as "liberators" by their own severe oppressive rule. Only fear of the harsh Japanese fist restrained the Indonesians from a general revolt.

[1] *Doc. No.* 2750, pp. 67–69.
[2] *Kan Po No.* 41, pp. 5–10; *Kan Po No.* 48, July 24, 1944, p. 12.
[3] Java had 17 Residencies (*Syuu*).
[4] *Japanese report about Indo-auxiliary troops*, *R.V.O.*, 006503.
[5] *Kan Po No.* 28, pp. 19–24.
[6] *Japanese report about Indo-auxiliary troops*, *R.V.O.*, 006504.

At the beginning of 1945, however, there was an outbreak in Blitar (East Java). In the night of February 14–15 the *Peta* made a surprise attack on the Japanese ammunition depot, in order later to occupy the key points and buildings in the city, such as the headquarters of the *Kempeitai* and the telephone office. An orgy of plunder and murder followed, of which some Indo-Europeans who were still free, and Japanese, Chinese, Arabs and Indians became the victims. The uprising was partly quelled by bloodshed and partly settled by compromise.[1] An official explanation of what happened was given only in May 1945. Not a word was said in this of what actually took place. Only criticism was expressed about some betrayers of the Great East Asia idea who had not properly understood the message the Japanese had brought to their "younger brothers". Besides, the rebellion against the "2600 year old and never-defeated Nipponese realm that had now taken the leadership of millions of inhabitants of Great East Asia" was characterised as something impossible.[2]

Another danger in raising an Indonesian army came from the side of the Communists, who attempted to infiltrate into the volunteer corps in a large scale. That they succeeded in this appeared from the Japanese intention to carry out a general "purge" of the *Peta*. The end of the war, however, frustrated this plan.[3]

The nature of the training of the *Peta* seems to have been strongly influenced by the course of the war. At first simple infantry training was given, which was intended for troops that would have to perform only garrison duties. But since the announcement of the future independence of Indonesia – speech of Premier Koiso in September 1944 – the instructors concentrated in raising a volunteers army that would become the nucleus of the future national army. Therefore, besides infantry training, training with other weapons was gradually introduced. An official order for the formation of infantry, tank, motor transport and engineers' battalions could not be executed because of the Japanese capitulation.[4]

A training in guerrilla warfare with motorised troops in

[1] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 107.
[2] *Kan Po No.* 67, pp. 10–14, May 19, 1945.
[3] *Japanese report about Indo-auxiliary troops, R.V.O.*, 006501–006506.
[4] *ibid.*

view of the expected Allied attacks was certainly completed. A special section of the *Peta – I Go Kunmu Tai* – was trained for this purpose. Uniforms were not used. After training at the centre the officers returned to their villages to prepare the defence.

In order to get an impression of the extent of the military and semi-military apparatus built from the Javanese youth and with it the influence which the Japanese had exercised on the younger generation, it is necessary also to have a review of other organisations.

One of the largest was the *Keiboodan*, a civilian organisation spread all over Java, whose main duty was to render first aid in case of fire and air raid. [1] The Chinese were also engaged in this, although in a separate body – *Tokobatsu Kakyo Keibootai* – which, like the *Keiboodan*, was directly subordinated to the *Gunseikan*. Other nationalities, such as the Arabs and Indians also participated in the *Keiboodan*. Only Chinese could become members of the Chinese organisation, which seems to have caused suspicion among the Indonesians. Owing to the lack of interest of the Chinese, which was not stimulated by the Japanese because of the fear of Indonesian displeasure, this corps remained limited in size. In some places it came to an end. [2]

The *Hei Ho* [3], mentioned earlier, was considered as a part of the Japanese forces. The training was on equal basis with that of the Japanese. Anti-aircraft guns, tanks, artillery and mortars could be handled by the *Hei Hos*, who should be able to replace the Japanese. Many *Hei Hos* were specially employed for transport. Unlike the members of the *Hizbullah*, those of the *Hei Ho* and the *Peta* were paid. [4]

A strongly specialised organ was the *Beppan*, later called *Nanseitai*, whose task was to furnish information, in the widest sense of the word, to the military authority. Information had to be given about the development of national movements, prices, rumours, behaviour and conduct of influential Indonesians, public reaction of the military administration, disturbances, unrest, rebellion, frauds, activities of the *Peta*, etc. Therefore,

[1] *Kan Po No.* 18, pp. 9–23.
[2] *Japanese report, R.V.O.*, 006528.
[3] *Hei*: soldier, *Ho*: 2nd class reserve.
[4] *Japanese report, R.V.O.*, 006527.

the *Beppan* was principally an "observation apparatus", which had to keep an eye on the movements of the different groups of people, listen to their voice and observe their reactions, so that the committing of mistakes by the military government could be prevented. The *Beppan* in Java – there were also similar organisations in other islands – received its orders from the headquarters of the 16th Army and particularly from the Intelligence Division. Its reports were directly delivered to the head of this section. The latter sent the appropriate news to the Department of Propaganda or Public Safety. [1]

Besides the *Hei Hos*, who also served as auxiliary troops in the navy, there were Indonesians who formed a part of another naval service, the *Nami Kikan*, a sea reconnoitering service, which had as its principal task the observation of enemy activity along the coast and the immediate reporting of it to the headquarters of the 16th Army. To camouflage the real intentions this organisation possessed small ships which carried goods on behalf of the military government. In case of enemy landings these ships were to be destroyed. [2]

There were still other military groups, nurtured by the different social layers of the population but inspired by certain Japanese – of whom Shimizu of the Propaganda Department was one of the most important – who considered a multiplicity of organisations directed for the same purpose rather an asset than a liability. Conflicts and rivalries seemed to have been deliberately created and encouraged in order to awaken the Indonesian people from their century-old attitude of submissive obedience to the traditional authority. The fostering of a revolutionary spirit among the Indonesians fitted in better with the scheme of Japanese plans.[3]

[1] *ibid.*, 006527–006528.

[2] *ibid.*, 006529–006530.

[3] The figures about the strength of the different bodies rather differ in the various reports. The nearest truth probably lies in the following ones, which were the numbers at the time of capitulation:

Peta: 37,000.
Hei Ho: 25,000.
Hizbullah: 50,000.
Keiboodan: 1,280,000.
Pemudas (youths): 500,000–600,000.
Student Service Corps: 50,000.
Barisan Berani Mati (suicide corps): 50,000.
Pelopor (shock troops): 80,000.

See *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005124 and *Japanese report about Indo-auxiliary troops, R.V.O.*, 006501–006506, 006527.

The course of the war took a decisive turn in the second half of 1944. In Europe the Allies had succeeded in landing on the coast of Normandy and pushed on further to the centre of France, Belgium and the southern part of Holland after a few weeks of embittered fighting at the bridgeheads. A dagger had been thrust into the heart of the German "Empire".

In East Asia the Americans had conquered the most important Japanese naval base at Saipan in July 1944 after the earlier landings on the Carolines and Marianas. This meant a serious threat to Japan's line of communication with the Southern Areas. In Tokyo this fact was considered to be so serious that it led to a cabinet crisis, as a result of which General Tojo, Premier of Japan since 1941, had to resign. He was replaced by Koiso.

Japan, as well as the occupied territories, now lay in the frontline of the American attack. This completely falsified the Japanese propaganda that was based on the invincibility of Japan and the weakness of the Western Powers. The facts appeared to be too much in contradiction to what the Japanese propaganda tried to present as the truth.

The period in which any Allied threat was discounted as a remote possibility had also passed. The Sword of Damocles was clearly hanging over Japan's head. It was now considered psychologically useful for Japan to develop in the occupied territories a new idea. Not only Japan but the whole of East Asia was threatened. The "hated" Western Powers once again attempted to subjugate East Asia and exploit it for their own benefit. In the trend of this new thought both Japan and Indonesia stood with their backs against the wall. The fate of Indonesia had been inseparably linked, as the favourite and endlessly repeated phrase ran, with the rise and fall of Japan. Without a Japanese victory "life was no longer worth living." The time seemed to have arrived when some concrete form should be given to this "common fate". But the Japanese were not yet prepared to grant more than what was absolutely necessary. Further promises and their realisation were, therefore, postponed till the moment when it appeared that delay was no longer possible and that the Indonesian people should be fully employed in the struggle.

It was at this decisive moment that the competent authorities of the various ministries at Tokyo submitted to the Supreme War Advisory Council a "Policy in regard to the Independence of the East Indies." [1] On September 7, 1944 Premier Koiso, in line with this policy, declared in the 85th extraordinary session of the Diet that independence would be granted to Indonesia. "We declare", he said, "that we intend to recognise their independence in the future in order to ensure the eternal happiness of the East Indian race." [2]

The plan of independence prepared by the Japanese contained the vaguely-worded principles that independence would be granted to the whole of the former Netherlands Indies at a moment following the completion of necessary preparations and that the "will of the people" would be allowed to decide the form as well as the name of the new state. [3]

At the same time, the Ministry of War at Tokyo sent some recommendations about the steps to be taken to the headquarters of the 16th Army, which had been already informed of the promise of independence. National feelings should be further awakened. There no longer existed any objections against the singing of the national anthem and the hoisting of the red-white flag, while permission could be granted for the setting up of a Committee of Investigation for the Preparation of Independence. [4]

In answer to the instructions of the War Ministry, the headquarters of the 16th Army defined the course that was suitable, seen from the local standpoint, for the smooth realisation of the promised goal. [5] Java was to be the first to be eligible for independence. To strengthen the national consciousness it was suggested that an Academy for the Building of the State [6]

[1] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1348; *Timetable No.* 151.

[2] *Prosecution Doc. No.* 454, *Court Exh. No.* 277; *Timetable No.* 153.

[3] About the promise of independence see *Kan Po No.* 51, p. 11 and pp. 15–22; *Kan Po No.* 52, pp. 24–28.

[4] *Badan Penjelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan* (M). See *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005871. Kahin's statement (*Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia.* p. 102) that the Japanese, on their arrival, "immediately" allowed the display of the red-white Indonesian national flag and the singing of *Indonesia Raja*, the national anthem, is thus absolutely wrong.

[5] Report submitted by HQ 16th Army was entitled "Gist of Measures for Guiding Independence." See *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 103.

[6] *Ken Koku Gakuin* (J).

should be established and that participation in the administration should be increased. The Navy Command, both in Tokyo as well as in the various headquarters of the local commands, however, showed little interest for the problem of independence. [1]

In order to execute the Imperial intentions to grant independence to Indonesia at a date still to be fixed, the Chief of Staff of the 16th Army addressed to the local military authorities a notification, which is worth the trouble of further consideration, because it gives an insight into the deliberate plan of action of the Japanese military authority.

The purport of the granting of independence ought to be thoroughly understood. It was not allowed to make any indication about the moment of realisation of the promise, the area involved, nor the form of government until these were finally decided. Meanwhile, national consciousness must be raised to the highest degree and directed to the prosecution of the war and the indissoluble unity of Java and Japan. There should be no great alterations in the structure of the Military Government. Only the number of leading Indonesians that constituted a part of the administrative machinery, like the political training in general, should be enlarged. The reins of nationalist activity should be let loose. Aggressive nationalistic speeches should not be opposed any longer, neither the singing of the national anthem and the display of the red-white flag. However, any effort of the Communists to abuse this indulgence must be strongly suppressed. Under the guidance of the military authority special attention should be paid to the preparation of the local inhabitants for independence, while measures would be taken for the spreading of the Japanese language, the adoption of Japanese institutions and the infusion of the Japanese culture. The distinction between the natives and "other races" – the Japanese! – should be abandoned, but this implied that the Indonesians must co-operate with all their might for the construction of the new society. Before the Japanese Militarists, their divine mission had been laid which was based on the principle of *Hakko Ichiu.* [2] No haughty and arrogant attitude

[1] *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005871.
[2] the nations of the world belonging to one family.

towards the population would be tolerated, nor a flattering one. They must show friendship to the natives and guide and instruct them in a firm way, just as parents or elder brothers and sisters would do, without involving themselves in their mutual difficulties or in the confusion that certainly would arise by the shifting of power. Especially in this connection, strict observation must be devoted to the military, auxiliary organisations – *Peta* and *Hei Ho*. It was pointed out in general that the Japanese activity must not relax if, after the publication of Koiso's declaration, great enthusiasm and festivities would create the impression that their goal in Java had already been achieved.

The last point of the circular, issued by the Chief of Staff of the 16th Army, contained some practical measures: the 7th of September was designated as National Independence Commemoration Day, and in this connection seven days would be celebrated. The local heads would assemble on the same day in order to hear from the Commander about the policy to be followed. On the 8th of September a ceremony would be held, at which the representatives of the inhabitants would express their gratitude. On September 9 and 10, 1944 a special session of the local councils would be convened, and on September 11, the Central Advisory Council would meet. [1]

Besides these orders, the Department of Propaganda issued detailed instructions to organise a grand campaign for the promised independence and the ensuing celebrations. The Japanese propaganda machine was thoroughly organised. The Japanese voice resounded throughout the whole of Java. Even in the smallest villages there appeared the so-called "singing towers" or rather radio loudspeakers fixed on pillars, which blared out music, morning exercises, news, information and instructions in all directions. A sample-card of programmes was placed before the people who had been hitherto absorbed in their agriculture, village and family affairs. A "counter-espionage week" followed a Japanese week, an "everybody works week", a "national health week", and a "defence week." In between these was held a "positive victory day", a "local safety day", a "race harmony day", a "day of the Asiatics", a "voluntary

[1] *Osamu San Jo Ko No.* 142, September 7, 1944. *Prosecution Doc. No.* 2756. See also *Doc. No.* 2750, pp. 94–98.

service day", an anti-Jew campaign and a "service for all gods." Is it surprising, therefore, that the philosophically-inclined, religious population of Java was aroused from its peaceful reflective moods?

The fifth special session of the Central Advisory Council held its deliberations in a similar way as the previous ones. The Commander of the 16th Army put written questions in advance [1], which he and after him the head of the Department of General Affairs – and generally also the head of the Military Administration – explained in the meeting, after which the Council drafted the answers in the form of resolutions. [2] This special session was convened in order to answer the questions of the Commander in which way the inhabitants of Indonesia should express their deep gratitude to the Imperial Japanese Government and the Japanese Army for the generous promise of independence and in which way the fighting spirit of the population that would bring about the annihilation of the English and Americans could further be enhanced.

The Council answered in accordance with the wishes which were implied in the question of the Commander. A thousand-fold thanks was expressed for the liberation from the Western yoke and measures were proposed to increase the war effort. In life and death Japan and Indonesia were one, both before and after the achievement of independence. [3]

In the sixth session of the Council, which was convened in November 1944, Sukarno, as Chairman of the Central Advisory Council, formulated the Five Rules for the Conduct of Life – *Pancha Dharma* –, which he called the basic idea of Great East Asia. [4]

At the same time the Japanese made a fresh gesture in the direction of co-operation by the Indonesians in the government. A council of advisers – *Dewan San-Yo* – was attached to the office of the *Gunseikan*. [5] But this was also a body that had neither power nor influence. Only questions could be answered by this Indonesian council and even that was done under the

[1] September 8, 1944. *Kan Po No.* 51, p. 21.
[2] *Kan Po No.* 51, pp. 23–25.
[3] *ibid.*
[4] *Kan Po No.* 55, pp. 8–20; *R.V.O.*, 008209–008210; *Doc. No.* 2750, pp. 104–105.
[5] November 23, 1944. *Kan Po No.* 55, p. 6.

supervision of a Japanese-controlled secretariat. Further, to implement the recommendations received from Tokyo, which had accompanied Premier Koiso's declaration of September 7, 1944, Indonesian assistant-Residents – *Huku Syuutyokan* – were appointed in several Residencies. [1]

Apart from some increase in the number of advisers in the departments and bureaux of the Military Administration, the promise of Koiso – September 7, 1944 – at first did not bring results. It was not before February 1945 that a new measure provided an increase in the number of Indonesians in the Central Advisory Council. [2] The group of Indonesians to be appointed by the military authority was raised from 28 to 38. According to the Japanese this was an important step forward in the direction of self-government.

Ordinarily, the Japanese waited for official festival days to speak more clearly about new developments in the public life. This also happened on the third anniversary – March 1, 1945 – of the Japanese landings in Java, or the third anniversary of "New Java". The Commander announced his decision of the establishment of the Investigating Committee for the Preparation of Independence. He also decided to found an Academy for the Building of the State and gave his consent for more liberal treatment in public of the forthcoming independence. [3]

The decision for the establishment of the Investigating Committee for the Preparation of Independence [4], was the first, though extremely limited, step in the direction of real independence. [5] The task of the Investigating Committee would be, as appeared from an official explanation of the government, to investigate into all fundamental problems relating to the foundation of the new realm which would have the character of a Great East Asiatic State. Apart from the matters which were important for the building up of the political framework, the

[1] *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005871.

[2] *Kan Po No.* 61, p. 8.

[3] *Kan Po No.* 62, pp. 26–27.

[4] Henceforth to be called: Investigating Committee.

[5] Dr. Radjiman Wediodiningrat was the Chairman of the Investigating Committee; the Committee's sixty-two members included also Sukarno and Hatta, 4 Chinese, one Arab, one Indo-European and eight Japanese "experts", besides the other Indonesian representatives– *Report Ichibangase Yoshio*, Japanese Vice-Chairman of the Committee, *R.V.O.*, 005850. See also G. W. Overdijkink, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

drafting of plans and programmes for the different government departments also belonged to this. About the results of the investigation a report must be submitted to the *Gunseikan* – the head of the Military Administration –, who should collect these reports in order to be able to present them as basic materials to the future Committee of Preparation for Independence, which organ should give the final decision about all questions and problems regarding independence. Another explanation about the Investigating Committee said that this was based on the ardent desire for freedom which existed in the hearts of all inhabitants of Java, while the members were recruited from all layers of the population, by which the new body received the character of a mobilisation of the entire people. [1]

The decision for setting up an Academy for the Building of the State taken by the Commander of the 16th Army on the 3rd anniversary of "New Java" – March 1, 1945 – was materialised on the birthday of the Japanese Emperor. On April 29, 1945 the ceremonial opening of this institution took place with one and two years' courses in theoretical and practical administration and jurisprudence, by which the Japanese expected to give a stimulating impulse to the national revival, based on the Great East Asia idea. [2]

Meanwhile, it became more and more clear to the Japanese that they were dependent in a large measure on the co-operation of the Indonesian population. Moreover, the sheer weight of the propaganda-policy had compelled the Japanese military authority to accept the consequences of the policy that was followed. The latter became apparent at Singapore during a special conference – April 30, 1945 – of the Chiefs of General Affairs Departments of the different administrative machineries which were under the Command of the 7th Area Army. [3] At this conference the *Soomubutyoo* of the 16th Army in Java [4] explained how the national consciousness of the Indonesians had been awakened and how it had reached a degree of inflammability,

[1] *R.V.O.*, 005899–005900.

[2] *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005872; *Kan Po No.* 63, p. 4; *Kan Po No.* 64: *Osamu Seirei No.* 18, April 1, 1945 and *Osamu Kanrei No.* 5, April 3, 1945; *Kan Po No.* 66, p. 39.

[3] including Java and Sumatra.

[4] Head of General Affairs Department and as such a leading figure of the Military Administration.

which left no other alternative except the one that would lead to independence and, therefore, to the preservation of the confidence of the people. [1]

In view of this problem of independence continually becoming more pressing and in order to have a clear picture of the situation in all Southern Areas under his command, Field Marshal Terauchi – headquarters at Saigon – asked for reports from all local headquarters on the matter. The 16th Army – the occupier of Java – promptly responded with a proposition to declare the whole of the former Netherlands East Indies independent within the year 1945. The hierarchy above this command – the 7th Area Army at Singapore – was, however, considerably less decided in its utterances. The report of this headquarters clearly avoided to mention the areas eligible for independence, while the moment at which this would take place was described as "too early to begin with." [2]

Nevertheless, General Itagaki, Commander of the 7th Area Army, called a meeting of the Chiefs of Staff of the occupied areas at Singapore to discuss the situation on May 20, 1945. Concerning the military aspect it was admitted in this meeting that the war was definitely turning against Japan. [3] The acknowledgment of this fact caused an accelaration in the procedure to be followed, which should lead to the independence of Indonesia. Java was allowed to convene a session of the Investigating Committee [4]

During the first session, which lasted from May 29–June 2, 1945, two-thirds of the Indonesian members present expressed their opinion about the problems of the future independence. The most noteworthy result of this meeting was a "declaration of determination", which was accepted at the proposal of Sukarno. In this it was stated, *inter alia*, that the Committee resented the fact that the enemy had already occupied a part of the Archipelago, viz. Morotai, Tarakan and Papua, tried to land in Halmaheira, and possibly also in other parts of the

[1] *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005872; *Doc. No.* 2750, pp. 108–109.

[2] *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005872; *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 109.

[3] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 109.

[4] The decision for the establishment of this Committee was announced on March 1, 1945, see *Kan Po No.* 62, pp. 26–32; the official proclamation of the decision and the establishment of the Committee took place on April 29, 1945, see *Kan Po No.* 66, pp. 9–10; the installation of the Committee happened on May 29, 1945.

beloved homeland, but that all members of the Committee backed by 70 million people were prepared to fight in all sincerety for the preservation of the Japanese Empire. [1]

The second session, convened in July 1945, was the last one which the Committee was allowed to hold. Among the subjects discussed were the form of government, territory involved, economic and financial policy, defence, education and a draft constitution. After the termination of the meetings the chairman and vice-chairman handed over the reports of the findings to the head of the military authority and with it the Investigating Committee concluded its task.

The primary task of the Central Advisory Council had been – as we have already discussed and as the name indicated – the tendering of advice. [2] In addition, the Council had some other rights, viz. to make proposals and ask questions. When the Council exercised these rights, there followed a reaction from the side of the government just as the military commander reacted on the answers of the Council. Thus in the third session of the Council the government spokesman, in which function the secretary of the Advisory Council acted, made references to what was discussed during the first two sessions, while in the seventh session an explanation was given on the measures which were taken as a result of what was dealt with from the third to the sixth sessions.

The government answers, and also the proposals made, gave in some respects a strong impression about the burden, under which the population of Java suffered during the Japanese occupation. Thus the Council asked in the third session – May 1944 – for measures to satisfy the demand for cloth and improve public health. The reply, given in the seventh session, was that the shortage of cloth should be remedied locally by their own effort and by expanding the cottage industry. To support this effort weaving technicians would be trained in a centre at Bandung and at the same time the government would look for possibilities to make use of the formerly un-used fibres for the spinning of yarns. [3]

[1] G. W. Overdijkink, *op. cit.*, p. 34; *Kan Po No.* 68, p. 12.

[2] to the Commander of the 16th Army.

[3] *Kan Po No.* 62, pp. 31–32. During the period of occupation the Japanese attempted in vain to increase the production of cotton in Java on a large scale. Before the war the experiments of the Dutch in this field likewise produced a negative result.

In order to effect an improvement in the public health, courses on First Aid in case of Accidents were organised, while new ways were sought for the preparation of some extremely scarce medicines and the production of suitable food. [1] For the latter purpose a commission was set up, which should study and consider the possibilities of improvement of food in wartime. [2]

In the fourth session of the Central Advisory Council – August 1944 – the members asked for better care of the "economic soldiers", the *Romushas*, who, in thousands, leaving behind their families, were taken away from the Javanese villages to work elsewhere for the Japanese army. The support requested concerned both those who had been lured away with beautiful material promises as well as the members of the family who stayed behind in miserable circumstances because they had to do without the promised allowances.

The answer of the government spokesman was that an organisation had already been set up – the so-called B.P. 3. – which collected money locally, with which assistance would be rendered to the *Romushas* and their families. [3] In practice this help came to nothing, since the collection of money was very poor. The population was not inclined to give money in the hands of the innumerable newly-made leaders. Corruption reigned supreme among this group. Any belief that the money would reach its destination had already disappeared.

At the sixth session of the Central Advisory Council – November 1944 – the members brought up for discussion the question of compulsory rice supplies imposed by the Japanese. The Council ascertained that the quota fixed for each *Syuu* had not been realised, because the importance of these deliveries had not been wholly understood by the people. This was the reason why the demand was not met with "a cheerful heart" and a maximum possible quantity. Moreover, the Council thought that the rice-supply had not yet been properly organised. Therefore, the members proposed to reward the peasants for their achievements. [4]

[1] *Kan Po No.* 62, p. 32.
[2] *Panitia Memperbaiki zat Makanan pada masa Perang.*
[3] *Kan Po No.* 62, pp. 38–39; *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 75. *Badan Penolong Prajurit Pekerja* (Body in Aid of Economic Warriors).
[4] *Kan Po No.* 55, p. 15.

This was answered by the government representative in February 1945 – seventh session of the Advisory Council – that measures would be taken for those farmers who would fulfil their duty to deliver the stated quantity of rice. [1]

Meanwhile, the Commander of the 16th Army had submitted the question to the Advisory Council at its seventh session as to how the Council should propose to effect a speedy rebirth of Java, which would lead to victory in this war and the achievement of freedom for Indonesia. The Council offered, as usual, its full support and expressed the opinion that there could be no permanent freedom for Indonesia without – and here the Japanese terminology was adopted – victory in the "holy war" for Great East Asia. And, therefore, the Council drafted with "flaming enthusiasm" thirty three slogans which, as basic materials of the "Movements for the New Life", [2] should provide "new souls" and "new blood" to the population of Java. The sound advice which was implied in the thirty three slogans varied from the necessity of love for the homeland to the speaking of truth, early rising and setting to work at once, the honouring of father and mother, the planting of every plot of land around the houses and the development of discipline. The last point obviously meant: "always be prepared." [3]

The Council followed up this answer to the Commander of the 16th Army by a few wishes and a resolution. Evidently, news had reached the Council about the inhuman treatment of the so-called "economic soldiers", *Romushas,* which was indeed a fine title for the miserable forced-labourers. These "economic soldiers" had been recruited in Java in thousands by the Japanese and subsequently transported to Singapore, Siam, Burma and elsewhere. The Council asked for the *Romushas* a decent treatment during and after the working hours and the provision, "if possible", of sufficient food for them. It was further requested – and this also casts a serious reflection on the Japanese methods – to send the labourers back home after the termination of the labour-contract and not to leave them "halfway to their own fate" somewhere. The Council observed that

[1] *Kan Po No.* 62, p. 40.
[2] *Shin Kokumin Undoo* (J), *Gerakan Hidup Baru* (M).
[3] *selaloelah siap sedia. Kan Po No.* 62, pp. 41–42.

it was constrained to express these wishes lest the enthusiasm to work for the Japanese should disappear completely.

Another point that was touched upon was the union of the *Djawa Hookoo Kai* and the *Masjumi*. According to the Council, it was necessary to unite both the organisations in order to be able to direct the people's power in a better way. [1]

As far as the wishes regarding the *Romushas* were concerned, the Council did not have much success. The treatment, especially outside Java, deteriorated with the progress of time. Countless of these unfortunates never saw again their land of birth. [2] What did succeed was the unification of the *Djawa Hookoo Kai* and the *Masjumi*.

The seventh session of the Advisory Council was concluded with a resolution, which ended with the words: "freedom or death." [3] This battle-cry should be the guiding star of everyone in Java. All the members of the league of dailies and periodicals – *Djawa Sinbun Kai* – were summoned to hear from the head of the Information Service that the press had the lofty task to cultivate love for the beloved homeland and prepare the masses for a struggle of life and death for freedom. Like the soldiers fighting at the front, the press should mobilise an "army of generals of the pen", which would fight under the slogan "freedom or death." [4]

Still things did not move fast enough for the Japanese, who saw that their dream of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was slowly but steadily disappearing. The Central Advisory Council was again convened – eighth session, June 1945 – to advise the Japanese commander in which way and by what means the enthusiasm and energy of the population could further be stimulated, so that as soon as possible complete support by the people would be given to the preparations of independence. [5]

The head of the Department of General Affairs, who explained this question after the opening of the session, declared that

[1] *Kan Po No.* 62, pp. 44–45.

[2] The correct figures of the *Romushas* who were transported outside Java are not known; the official estimates of the Japanese after the capitulation mention the figure of 270,000 men, of whom not more than 70,000 could be recovered after the war – *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 74.

[3] *Kan Po No.* 62, p. 45.

[4] *Kan Po No.* 68, p. 16.

[5] The eighth session was held from June 18–21, 1945. See *Kan Po No.* 69, pp. 20–35.

the war would certainly be won because, in whatever way the war condition was considered, the situation had not developed unfavourably but rather advantageously for Japan and her allies. Nevertheless, blood, sweat and combative spirit would be demanded for this struggle. In order to emphasise the latter fact this head of the department pointed to the threat which lay hidden in the discussions at San Francisco – apparently referring to the San Francisco Conference for the establishment of the U.N. – where the Allies had already proceeded to "divide the territories to be recovered in Asia."

After about one year of occupation of Indonesia, Radio Tokyo broadcast: "Indonesia has become Eastern. The youth finds football utter nonsense. The young men want to be militarily trained." Now in July 1945 the Central Advisory Council asked for complete armament of the Volunteers Corps (*Peta*), weapons for the population and "better training in the guerrilla fight than had so far been given." [1] Indeed, the Japanese training had had its effects. The training, however, had made the Indonesians also much more self-conscious. The answering of a question placed before the Council could no longer be seen as the docile acceptance of what the Japanese leadership ordained. In some respects what the Council decided began even to resemble the advancing of demands as appeared from the other points of this answer on the question of the Commander. The Council asked to hand over with the greatest possible speed the direction of the government organs, both central and local, to the Indonesians. Moreover, it wanted a greater role to be assigned to private initiative than had been allowed so far, while the distribution of food and cloth should be improved.

In the same session the secretary of the Central Advisory Council, as spokesman of the military authority, discussed the results of the seventh session of the Council. From his speech it appeared, *inter alia*, that the Japanese military authority approved with satisfaction the plan of the Movement for the New Life.

Shortly thereafter the Movement for the New Life was organised. [2] Sukarno, Hatta, Wiranatakusuma and Hasjim became the

[1] *Kan Po No.* 69, pp. 30–32.
[2] G. W. Overdijkink, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–38.

leaders. Difficulties arose, however, with the military authority when the people's movement wanted to insert the word "Republic" in the statutes. The Military Government denied the right of the movement to express its opinion about the form of government. Some tension developed, because both sides stuck to their viewpoints. As the Japanese military authority still exercised its strict control, the Movement for the New Life had to disappear. The headquarters of the 16th Army published further a warning report about the mounting difficulties and the increasing tension regarding the question of independence to the military authority that was superior to this command. [1]

During the last months of the Pacific War, however, an agreement was finally reached among the highest Japanese government circles about the policy to be followed with respect to the former Dutch East Indies. Before that time there existed serious conflicts, especially between the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, War and Navy. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs was the supporter of the establishment of a puppet government in the "East-Indies", while the Army and Navy wanted to retain a firm grip on the Archipelago, in any case during the war, by a direct administration. The far-seeing Total War Research Institute had also its own ideas and considered the conquered area mainly as a pawn for negotiation in case the war might be lost in the long run. [2]

Essentially, however, there existed no difference of opinion about the policy to be adopted, since each of the parties desired complete political, economic and cultural control. [3]

A general line of conduct had been outlined in November 1941 during a Liaison Conference between the Imperial Headquarters and the Japanese Government. [4] The primary aims which the occupation army should realise were the restoration of peace and order, the collection of products indispensable for the prosecution of the war and the maintenance of the troops from the local supplies. At this conference no agreement had been reached

[1] *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005873.
[2] *Doc. No.* 2750, pp. 110–112.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 113.
[4] November 20, 1941. *Prosecution Doc. No.* 1448.

about the future status of the "East Indies." The decision was, therefore, deferred to a later date. [1]

Nevertheless, the differences of opinion about the policy to be followed existed not only in the highest government circles but also among the lower military commanders. The local military authorities in Java were, from the very beginning, in favour of strongly stimulating the dormant national feelings. The General Headquarters of the Southern forces had been, on the contrary, a supporter of the suppression of the national movements. [2] The creation of the Ministry of Great East Asia in November 1942 had added further difficulties, since this new body had to prepare plans for the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, while the military government, which possessed the executive power, was under the control of the supreme military command at Tokyo. On January 4, 1943 a Liaison Conference between the Imperial Headquarters and the Government had been held again in which agreement had been reached with regard to the granting of sham-independence to Burma and the Philippines, but in which the decision about the problem of Indonesia had to be put off once again, because of the difference of opinion. [3] Finally, on May 31, 1943 it had been decided in a Liaison Conference, which was attended by the Emperor, to incorporate the "East Indies" in the Japanese Empire with a status similar to that of Korea and Formosa. However, as a softening measure it was accepted that the Indonesians would be allowed to participate in the administration. The decision on the annexation was not to be published lest it should give the Allies material for propaganda. [4]

So, the highest military command in Tokyo had had its way for the time being. Amongst the lower military authorities – military authorities in Java – the decision of the incorporation had caused dissatisfaction. This had led to an attempt to have the decision revoked by the sending of Sukarno to Premier Tojo. This attempt, however, did not produce any results.

Meanwhile, the Philippines and Burma, the territories which the military clique in Japan did not want from the beginning to

[1] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 114.
[2] *ibid.*, p. 115.
[3] *ibid.*, p. 116.
[4] *ibid.*, p. 117; *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 1344; *Timetable No.* 147.

annex, had obtained their so-called independence. [1] Once more the military authorities in Java tried to make Tokyo agree to their standpoint of granting independence to Indonesia through the mission of the then most important political adviser, Hayashi, to the Land of the Rising Sun. [2] This visit too was not fruitful. Only when the Ministry of Koiso had replaced that of Tojo, the idea of a puppet-state began gradually to gain around.

Faced with the irresistible American advance, the new cabinet thought that it should make a political move to unify Greater East Asia. Moreover, the cabinet wanted to show the world that Japan indeed pursued the high ideals of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and that this war, by no means, had been started out of pure lust for conquests. Accordingly, at the session of the Supreme War Direction Council of September 5, 1944, it was decided to announce that in future "independence" would be granted to the "East Indies", in order to "win over the natives, as well to clarify the Greater East Asia Policy to all the world." [3] Premier Koiso subsequently – September 7, 1944 – made his famous vague declaration about the future independence, in which neither a fixed time nor the areas which would receive this independence were mentioned, as the Navy was still opposed. [4]

From the beginning of 1945, however, the points of view of the Navy and Army approached each other, as the Navy, after the fall of the Philippines which implied the inevitable loss of the Southern Areas, had no more reason to remain in opposition. In a meeting of the Supreme War Direction Council, held on July 17, 1945, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Shigenori Togo, presented a memorandum [5], in which it was proposed to come to the definite decision to grant independence at once to the whole of the "East Indies." According to this Minister, such a procedure would bear more fruits than the successive granting of independence to various areas, which would be certainly disappointing for the Indonesian leaders. The moment

[1] August and October 1943 respectively.
[2] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 119.
[3] *Prosecution Doc. No.* 2755; *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. Nos.* 1348 and 1349; *Timetable Nos.* 151 and 152.
[4] *Doc. No.* 2750, p. 121; *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. No.* 277; *Timetable No.* 153.
[5] *Prosecution Doc. No.* 2758.

at which the declaration of independence should take place was to be fixed, in view of the turn of the war and the development of the international situation, in the beginning of the autumn of 1945. Japan should avoid pronouncing the declaration of independence. This should be left to an Indonesian Committee for the Preparation of Independence, which would create the impression that the initiative lay entirely with the "East Indian race." [1]

The Supreme War Direction Council agreed to this plan [2], to which all ministries concerned in Japan – Foreign Affairs, Navy, War and Great East Asia – had co-operated. That this plan would be accepted at the session of this Council – July 17, 1945 – was so certain that it had been telegraphically communicated on July 1, 1945 to the headquarters of the 16th Army. At the same time directives were sent for the setting up of the Committee for the Preparation of Independence. [3] Besides, comments on the plan were also invited. The headquarters of the 16th Army, Java, which saw near at hand the fulfilment of its wishes, answered promptly that they completely approved of the plan proposed.

There were, however, other voices associated with this chapter of events. After a meeting at Singapore, where all leading figures from the different occupation zones had expressed their points of view on the plan through their delegations, a report was prepared for the Commander of the Southern Areas, Field Marshal Terauchi. [4] The latter was not so enthusiastic as the Japanese military leaders in Java. In his report to Tokyo about the plan, he avoided indicating clearly the territories which were to be considered for independence. Concerning the moment to be chosen, he suggested that this should be fixed sometime in the second half of 1946, after the Preparatory Committee – to be set up at the end of 1945 – had completed the necessary work. [5]

But Tokyo had a different view on the situation. The

[1] *Doc. No.* 2750, pp. 122–123.
[2] *Far East Mil. Trib., Exh. Nos.* 1344, 1340, 1350 and 1351; *Timetable No.* 155; *Prosecution Doc. No.* 2759.
[3] Hereafter to be called: Preparatory Committee.
[4] HQ Saigon.
[5] *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005873.

Imperial Government was in a hurry to accomplish its plans. On July 21, 1945 the final Tokyo plan of the different ministries, which harmonised with the earlier plan telegraphically communicated to the 16th Army, reached the military command in Java. In this latest document special emphasis was laid upon the necessity for safeguarding the military co-operation with the territories to be made independent as a result of the execution of the plan. The Commander of the Southern Areas, Field Marshal Terauchi, became responsible for the proper implementation of the whole project. [1]

The draft of the regulations for the execution of the plan of independence was submitted in a meeting of the *Soomubutyoo* [2] in Singapore for a full discussion. [3] The general instructions for this conference, which began on July 30, 1945, were given by Tokyo. At the meeting an elaborate study was made of the transfer of the economic apparatus to the Indonesians, including finance, industry, railways and ports as well as the placing of the Volunteers Corps exclusively under Indonesian control. In this investigation was also involved the role which the Japanese officers and civilian authorities would have to play and how they would finally withdraw from the transferred machinery. [4]

The Tokyo-instructions clearly left sufficient freedom for the holders of the Conference – among whom there were representatives from the Naval Occupation Zone – to make a distinction between the different occupation zones with the fixing of the dates of the declarations of independence. As it was generally admitted that Java was ahead of the other occupation zones, the meeting wanted to grant independence first to this island. Malaya, which was considered as the least advanced, was left completely outside the discussion. To what extent the independence was to be conceded became obvious in the stipulation that Java, which, "if possible", would receive the "jewel of freedom" at the beginning of September 1945, would not acquire the right to exchange diplomatic representatives with Japan.

The directives of Tokyo also implied the formation of the

[1] *ibid.*

[2] Heads of General Affairs Departments of the *Gunseikanbu*.

[3] *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005873.

[4] *Interrogation-report Major-General O. Nishimura,* Head of the General Affairs Dept. of the Military Administration in Java, *R.V.O.*, 005815–005818.

Preparatory Committee, composed of Indonesians. General Yamamoto, the head of the Military Administration in Java, was authorised to see to the composition of this committee. The Japanese, however, by no means intended to leave much freedom for this committee. According to a well-tried Japanese prescription, a parallel-committee, *Jumbi-I-In-Kai*, consisting of only Japanese members, was created, which would exercise a close supervision. [1]

After the head of the Military Administration, General Yamamoto, and the head of the Department of General Affairs had returned to Batavia from Singapore at the beginning of August 1945, the selection of the Indonesian members of the Preparatory Committee at once commenced. In this committee about twenty places were reserved for Java, four each for Sumatra and the Navy zone – Borneo, Celebes, the Moluccas and the Lesser Sunda islands. [2]

The Japanese parallel-committee, which in fact should take all important decisions, met on August 7, 1945 to discuss the countless difficulties and problems related to the working out of a sound plan at such a short notice. For on August 19, 1945, the first meeting of the Indonesian Preparatory Committee was to be held, which should lead to the proclamation of independence at the beginning of September 1945.

In spite of the opinion of the Japanese committee, which reported to Tokyo that the preparations could be completed at the earliest at the end of 1945, the Imperial Government stuck to their plan of independence in the beginning of September 1945. So the Japanese committee continued its work feverishly. Most of the problems were finally solved, although some of the solutions deserved no other name than that of improvisations. Concerning the financial problem it was thus settled that the Japanese occupation-money would remain legal tender until the Indonesian government would be able to bring a national currency in circulation. Besides, in order to be able to function

[1] This Japanese parallel-Committee was composed of high army and naval authorities. The Chairman was General Itagaki, the Commander of the 7th Area Army at Singapore and the Vice-Chairman, Lieutenant General Nagano, the Commander of the 16th Army in Java. The Navy was represented by the well-known Vice-Admiral Maeda, the head of the Navy Liaison Office at Batavia.

[2] See G. W. Overdijkink, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

the new government should have the necessary funds at its disposal. To satisfy this demand the Southern Development Bank – *Nanpo Kaihatu Kinko* – was commissioned to finance the Indonesian state in the first stage. [1]

On August 7, 1945 at 12 o'clock noon Field Marshal Terauchi, the Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Territories, proclaimed throughout the area under his command that he had granted permission for the establishment of the Committee for the Preparation of Independence of Indonesia: [2] "By way of acknowledgment for the effort and the sincerety of heart of the Indonesian inhabitants, the Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Areas expresses his approval for the institution towards the middle of August 1945 of a Committee for the Preparation of Independence. This Committee shall accelerate the final measures to be taken for the institution of a government of Independent Indonesia." [3]

The Commander of the 16th Army in Java precisely stated this proclamation of Field Marshal Terauchi by officially announcing on the same day – August 7, 1945 – that Indonesia would be declared independent as soon as the preparations were complete. [4] Another explanation of the instructions of the Commander of the Southern Areas came from the head of the Military Government in Java. This declared frankly that independence could be realised only under certain conditions:

"The work for the creation of a free Indonesia is being done under the vigilance of the enemies. People should, therefore, understand the task that will have to be performed. The first condition for the achievement of independence is the winning of the war with which the Indonesian people is now faced. In the second place, Indonesia will have to develop her war-potential in such a way that in co-operation with *Dai Nippon* – Great Japan – the final victory in the war could be achieved for Great East Asia." [5]

According to the controlled Indonesian press, the news about

[1] *Interrogation-report Major-General O. Nishimura, R.V.O.*, 005815–005818.

[2] *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005873. *Dokuritsu Junbi Iin* (J), *Panitia Persiapan Kermedekaan Indonesia* (M).

[3] *Asia Raya*, August 7, 1945, No. 189.

[4] *ibid.*

[5] *ibid.*

the establishment of the Preparatory Committee and the future independence was greeted with great enthusiasm. [1]

The reports of the developments during the final phase of the war, however, gave for Indonesia a rather confused picture of the true course of events, which led to the proclamation of independence on August 17, 1945. Thus, Nishimura, the head of the General Affairs Department, declared that the visit of Sukarno and his company to the Commander-in-Chief at Saigon, to whom they conveyed the thanks of the Indonesian people, took place at the instigation of the Japanese military authority in Java. [2] From this report it would appear that there was no question of a spontaneous reaction of gratitude in Java.

Who inspired the actual independence is another controversial point. After the occupation of the Archipelago there were two champions for the independence of Indonesia, the Tokyo-ministry of Foreign Affairs and the military authorities in Java. Towards the later stages of the war it was the Imperial Government which insisted on the greatest possible speed, while the lower military authorities tried to slow down the pace. According to Nishimura, as we have already seen, the instruction to Sukarno and his company to proceed to Saigon came from the Military Government. The Chief of Staff of Field Marshal Terauchi declared, however, that his Chief had taken the initiative for this trip. [3] The same Chief of Staff gave, however, a contradictory statement to this: "Indonesian independence was a matter of high policy. Field Marshal Terauchi received his instructions from General Anami, Minister for War." [4]

Nishimura's statements (but he said this after the Japanese capitulation) were of the same character: "On every available occasion, we were indicated by the higher authorities that the independence of the Netherlands East Indies areas came out of the intention of His Majesty the Emperor and was only partly based on the utilitarian point of view of Japan." [5]

In all probability, it was the Tokyo-government which, with

[1] G. W. Overdijkink, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
[2] *Interrogation-report Numata Takazo*, Chief of Staff of F. M. Terauchi, *R.V.O.*, 006785–006791.
[3] *ibid.*
[4] *ibid.*
[5] *Nishimura Interrogation-report*, *R.V.O.*, 006808.

the end of the war in sight (the Atom Bomb fell on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945), made a strenuous attempt to play a trick on the Allies and obtain political gain in the distant future for Japan.

However, Sukarno, Hatta and Radjiman left for Saigon on August 9, 1945 in order to meet the Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Areas at Dalat, after a journey of about another 300 kilometers from Saigon in the northern direction, on August 11 – thus four days before the Japanese capitulation. The latter informed them (this was until then still a matter of doubt for the nationalist leaders) that the territory to be independent would include the entire Netherlands East Indies. The date when independence would be proclaimed was dependent upon the stage of preparations and the fulfilment of the condition of satisfactory military co-operation with Japan.

Sukarno and Hatta were then respectively appointed Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, after which Terauchi expressed the hope that the Indonesians would obtain independence as quickly as possible. [1]

On August 14 – the day before the Japanese capitulation – Sukarno and his company returned to Java by air. Immediately after his arrival he delivered a speech at the airport in which he announced the forthcoming independence. On the same day the Imperial decree on the armistice was issued at Tokyo. [2] This took place after Japan had already made known to the Allies on August 10, 1945 [3] – theday following the explosion of the second Atom Bomb on Nagasaki – that the terms stated in the Declaration of Potsdam and the unconditional surrender implied in it would be accepted, if the Japanese Emperor was allowed to retain his prerogatives.

The final days [4] of Japanese rule in Java may here be described according to the statements of some of the principal Japanese participants in the events.

[1] *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005874. The Preparatory Committee was composed of Chairman, Vice-Chairman and 19 members, of which 11 representatives came from Java, 3 from Sumatra, 2 from Celebes and one each from Borneo, the Lesser Sunda Islands, and the Moluccas. See G. W. Overdijkink, *op. cit.*, p. 42; George McT. Kahin, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

[2] *Report HQ 16th Army, R.V.O.*, 005874.

[3] On August 8, 1945 Russia had declared war against Japan.

[4] August 14–17, 1945.

Vice-Admiral Maeda, the head of the Liaison Office at Batavia [1], played an important role. This able officer, who succeeded in obtaining considerable influence in Indonesian leading circles by his zeal for the Indonesian independence, felt himself officially supported in his endeavour to assist the nationalist movement after the promise of independence by Premier Koiso in September 1944.

Maeda stated [2] that after the promise of Koiso he expanded his office and increased the financial allowances for the nationalists. He further explained how the training of young intellectuals was begun and the number of propaganda tours in which Sukarno and Hatta also participated was raised. Maeda paid for all this from the navy-funds. According to him, it was necessary that in future a close contact should be maintained between Japan and the would-be independent Indonesia. For that purpose his office should be the link.

About the Japanese capitulation, Maeda said that this came as a heavy blow for the Japanese in Indonesia. He continued: "Already soon the Indonesians began to move. Specially, the youths, trained by the Japanese for *Giyu Gun, Hei Ho* and *Keiboodan*, played an important part in this. The youths soon went out of the hands of their leaders and became aggressive. An example of the revolt of the Indonesians was the murder of more than eighty Japanese soldiers in the surroundings of Bekassi." [3]

After Emperor Hirohito had announced the termination of hostilities, the Japanese in Java took a number of measures. Thus the Indonesian auxiliary troops and the other Indonesians who were in Japanese service were discharged, while Japanese forces had to concentrate.

Maeda stated the following about what happened on and after the 15th of August, 1945: "When the news of the capitulation penetrated, Sukarno, Hatta and Subardjo turned to the Japanese Governor-General Yamamoto. They could not, however, talk to him. Afterwards they appeared in my office in the afternoon in order to know whether it was true that an important

[1] Liaison office between Army and Navy at Batavia.
[2] *Interrogation-report T. Maeda, R.V.O.*, Nefis AJ/33126.
[3] October 19, 1945.

change in the situation had occurred. I replied that this was rather certain, but officially I could not give any decisive answer, because no official confirmation of the report was received. Sukarno, Hatta and Subardjo then left the office. About mid-night the official government-telegram arrived that confirmed the news of the cessation of hostilities. The following morning I tried to contact Sukarno, Hatta and Subardjo to inform them of the latest news. Sukarno and Hatta, however, seemed to have disappeared without any trace. A group of young men and intellectuals had overpowered both these leaders with the purpose of causing a large scale freedom movement, which should result in the immediate declaration of independence. With this a critical stage set in, because the Japanese had made no plans as yet to suppress the possible unrest. Towards the evening a reasonable amount of certainty existed about the whereabouts of Sukarno and Hatta, who had been carried off in the direction of Bandung. Subardjo, who had left for that place, succeeded in bringing back both the leaders. They arrived at 11 o'clock at night – August 16, 1945 – at my house."[1]

Meanwhile, thousands of young people, full of fighting spirit, were in Batavia, who had intended to start action at midnight,

[1] *Interrogation-report T. Maeda, R.V.O.*, Nefis AJ/33126. According to Hatta (*Verspreide Geschriften van Mohammad Hatta*, C. P. J. van der Peet, Amsterdam 1952: "Legende en Realiteit Rondom de Proclamatie van 17 Augustus", pp. 330–340), the kidnapping of Sukarno and Hatta to the *Peta* garrison at Rengasdengklok took place because of the difference of opinion between the Sukarni-Students-Sjahrir group and the Sukarno-Hatta group as to how the declaration of Indonesia's independence should be made, not about the proclamation of independence as such. The former group (see also *Out of Exile*, pp. 253–254) demanded an immediate declaration of independence in, what they considered to be, a "revolutionary" method, i.e. detached from everything that was in any way suggestive of Japanese sponsorship. An Indonesia of Japanese fabrication, it was argued, was bound to be crushed by the Allies. The latter group, however, was of the opinion that the proclamation of independence should be made by the "Committee for the Preparation of Independence", the members of which, though appointed by the Japanese, were supposed to represent the will and the ideal of Indonesia. The Committee, it was further stated, was thus the symbol of the inner consciousness of Indonesian unity, which was of greater importance than the external judicial consideration.

Once the kidnappers realised that they would fail, they did not oppose the return of Sukarno and Hatta to Djakarta.

Muhammad Dimyati's argument (in his book: *Sedjarah Perdjuangan Indonesia*) that Sukarno and Hatta were carried off by force "because it was feared that the Japanese might use them as their puppets if they would remain in their houses" and that they were again taken back to Djakarta to resume, at the residence of Maeda, the discussion about the immediate proclamation of Indonesia's independence which had not yet terminated at Rengasdengklok, is clearly inconsistent, as corroborated by Hatta.

occupy the radio-station and proclaim independence. Sukarno and Hatta succeeded with great difficulty in postponing this development till 12 o'clock of the following day – August 17. After this delay had been obtained, both the leaders negotiated with the head of the Department of General Affairs, Nishimura, about the proclamation of independence. An agreement, however, could not be reached, because Nishimura refused to consider the demand of Sukarno and Hatta.

They then went again to Maeda's residence, where there were already thirty representatives of the Indonesian nationalist groups, eagerly waiting for the outcome of the talks with Nishimura. In the meeting that followed it was decided by means of a motion to proclaim the independence the next day – August 17, 1945. By day-break the meeting was over. [1]

A statement, which is no less important for a better insight in the Indonesian events, was made by Maeda in prison in Singapore. [2] "In case, the war had turned out in favour of Japan or would not have ended so soon, Sukarno would have been able to form an Indonesian government without trouble. When things developed in a different way the Indonesians shook off from the Japanese and took the initiative in their own hands. Only the landing of a large Allied force could have turned the tide, as the Indonesians in that circumstance would have been certainly more inclined for negotiation and co-operation." [3]

Another important figure of the Japanese military authorities was the head of the Department of General Affairs, Nishimura. His department determined the line of action for the daily course of events. Like Maeda, Nishimura declared that he helped to lay the foundation for the independence of Indonesia. This officer was, however, more an obedient military person than one who displayed an energetic initiativeness. According to what he said, Nishimura acted exclusively in conformity with the orders from Tokyo, the Southern Expetidionary Force and the Commandant of the 7th Area Army Corps. [4]

Concerning the events on the night of August 16–17, 1945 the interrogation of Nishimura provides some further information.

[1] *Interrogation-report T. Maeda, R.V.O.*, Nefis AJ/33126.
[2] June 16, 1946.
[3] *Interrogation-report T. Maeda, R.V.O.*, Nefis AJ/33126.
[4] *Interrogation-report Major-General Nishimura, R.V.O.*, 006792–006807.

He had a talk, it appears, with Sukarno, Hatta and Maeda during that night when the head of the Military Administration, General Yamamoto, refused to receive the nationalist leaders. He says: "Sukarno and Hatta entered my office in the company of Vice-Admiral Maeda. Both the Indonesian leaders demanded the immediate independence of Indonesia. Thereupon Maeda urged them to take into account the situation which had arisen from Japan's acceptance of the Declaration of Potsdam. During those few hours I tried to make them desist from committing illegal acts. Sukarno and Hatta, both of whom were in a state of great excitement, however, demanded that the meeting of the Committee for the Preparation of Idependence should be called at once the next morning. I refused to comply with this. They then left my office with Vice-Admiral Maeda." [1]

In all likelihood, the Japanese gave no consent, at least not officially, to accelerate the way to independence, which was in conflict with the terms of surrender. In any case, no permission was granted to convene the Preparatory Committee, which was to meet on August 19, 1945, the originally-appointed date. For this meeting the representatives from the various parts of Indonesia had already arrived at Djakarta.

On August 15, 1945 the members of this committee were secretly informed of the Japanese surrender. This greatly increased the consternation and confusion prevailing everywhere. The population of Java, which since the surrender of the Netherlands Indies Army had only seen Japan's military power and not its decay, was still uninformed. The wildest rumours, which could be confirmed or denied by a very few, spread quickly. In Java confusion reigned and the Japanese did nothing to clarify the situation. The radios were sealed from the very beginning of the occupation, so that no outside broadcasts could be heard, not even from Tokyo. On instructions from the Commander-in-Chief of the Southern Territories, the news of the capitulation was intentionally kept secret for a week. Between August 17 and 21, 1945 the information about the declaration of independence and the new constitution of Indonesia appeared in the papers. Only on August 21, 1945 the capitulation-address of Emperor

[1] *ibid.*

Hirohito, delivered on August 14, 1945, was published in the Indonesian press.[1]

Officially, the Japanese military command acted in accordance with the Declaration of Potsdam by denying further support to Indonesian nationalism. Some, however, hold the view that in reality the declaration was violated not only by giving free rein to nationalism but also by doing it purposefully. The dreaded Japanese authority would have been able to maintain the *status quo* without difficulty, such as the Potsdam-terms prescribed.

After the talk with Nishimura, which did not yield the desired result for Sukarno and Hatta, the meeting of the members of the Preparatory Committee with Maeda, youth leaders and other nationalists followed in the early morning hours of August 17, 1945.[2] After feverish discussions it was decided to proclaim the independence on the same day – August 17 – at about noon. To that end the constitution, drafted formerly by the Committee for the Preparation of Independence, was hurriedly altered. And thus Sukarno proclaimed the independence of Indonesia at 12 o'clock noon.[3] Nishimura said later: "About noon a shabbily looking and confused Indonesian authority brought a dirty paper, on which was written that the Indonesians had proclaimed the independence."[4]

Another figure, who played a role in the development of the former Dutch Indies to the present sovereign Indonesia, was the much-discussed person Hitoshi Shimizu. This functionary of the Department of Propaganda in Java received, according to his statements, instructions already in February 1944 to start preparing the Indonesian independence.[5]

The Japanese capitulation, which cut across all plans, had

[1] *Doc. No.* 2750, pp. 128–129.

[2] The meeting was held at the residence of Maeda, because, according to Hatta, the Hotel des Indes, the place where the meeting was originally to have taken place was already closed.

[3] The text of the Proclamation was: "We the people of Indonesia hereby proclaim the independence of Indonesia. The transfer of authority, everything related to it, and other matters will be implemented properly and in the shortest possible time." – On behalf of the People of Indonesia, Sukarno-Hatta, August 17, ~~1945~~. 2605

[4] *Interrogation-report Nishimura, R.V.O.*, 006792–006807.

[5] Shimizu declared to have discussed, among others, the question of independence with Prince Higashikuni (an uncle of the Emperor of Japan), who formed the first cabinet after Japan's surrender.

been kept secret, according to Shimizu, on instructions from Tokyo, in order to give freedom to Indonesia before the Indonesians came to know of the Japanese débacle. To speed up the procedure, certain arrangements would be made after August 14, which were to create the impression that the Japanese stuck to the instructions of the Allied Commanders, while the Indonesians would proceed to take the initiative. So a procession of young people, who came to demand independence, was sent to Sukarno. [1]

Shimizu further mentioned a discussion [2], as a result of which a number of Japanese officers were appointed, who were to evade being made prisoners of war in order to help the Indonesians in their guerrilla war. [3]

It was quite evident that this Shimizu was an intriguing person. He organised numerous secret societies, which often had contradictory purposes. The best known of these was the *Kipas Hitam* (Black Fan). By means of these associations Shimizu played the game of raising political passions and race-hatred. Different from Maeda, he had many enemies. Nishimura, for instance, could not stand him and Maeda also did not like him. The latter declared – but this also was said *post factum* – that the Japanese and English psychiatrists considered Shimizu not right in his mind.

Thus the creation of a new state was the work of the people of various kinds and classes, prompted by unequal motives. Who played the most important role, who was compelled to do certain acts, who intrigued, who practised politics or statesmanship with or without success – these are all questions which cannot be answered completely. It is certain, however, that Japanese plans as well as Indonesian nationalism existed in August 1945. It is also certain that Sukarno, on August 17, 1945, with or without coercion or help, proclaimed the independence of the new Indonesia in the presence of a mass of people.

And this 17th August, 1945 was the date, which will be recorded in the history of the nations as the birthday of the State Indonesia.

[1] *Interrogation-report Hitoshi Shimizu, R.V.O.*, AI/2–21242.
[2] between Sawada Takayoshi, Nakagawara Yasujiro and Yasuoka.
[3] *Interrogation-report Hitoshi Shimizu, R.V.O.*, AI/2–21242.

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